

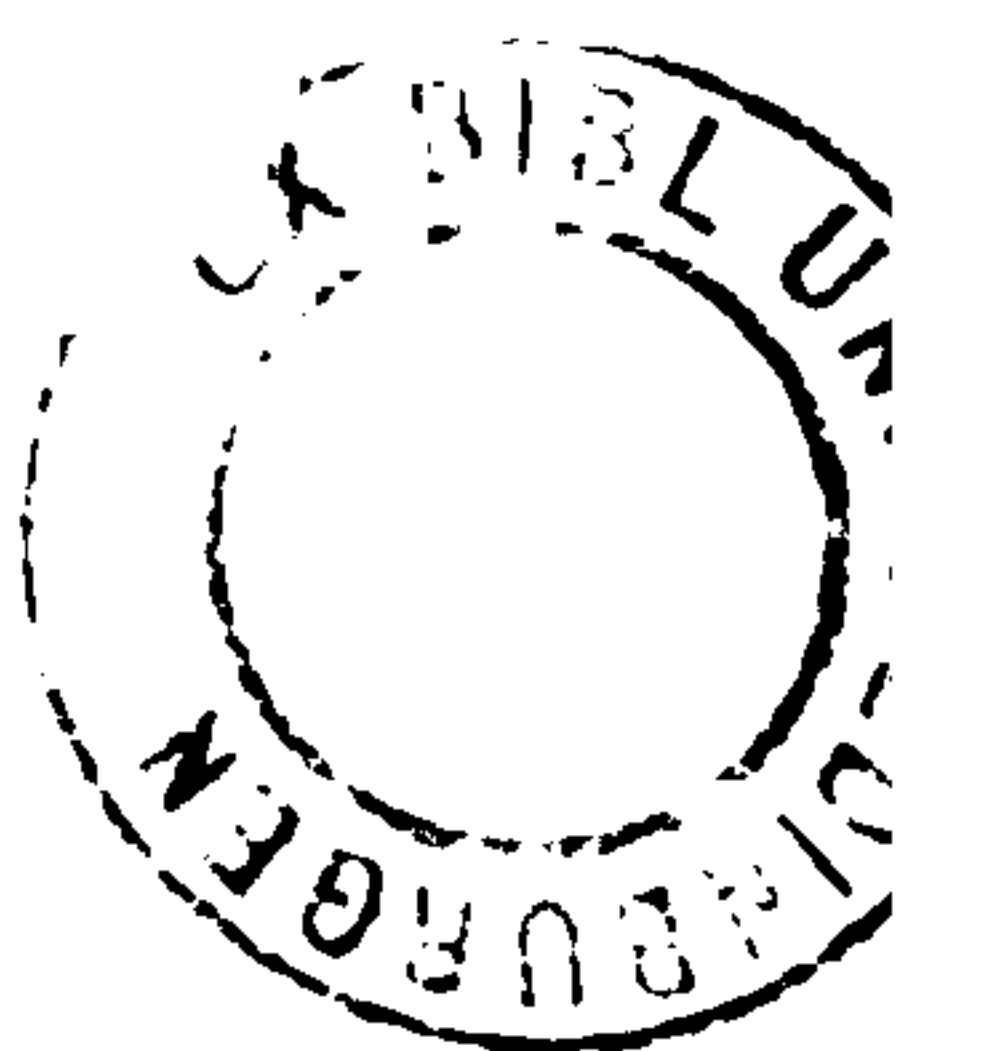
RELATIONS BETWEEN THE YAMAN AND SOUTH ARABIA
DURING THE ZAYDĪ IMĀMATE OF ĀL al-QĀSIM:
1626-1732

by

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ABSTRACT

The present study examines in close detail the internal history of the Yaman and South Arabia in the period 1626-1732, when the Zaydī Imāms of Āl al-Qāsim family, after having expelled the Turks, sought to impose their own rule over the area. Their pretensions to authority were based on descent from the house of the Prophet, and this was to evoke stubborn resistance in the Shāfi'ite peoples outside the Yaman who regarded the Zaydī expansion as an attack on their faith as well as their lands. After some initial success, their attempt at domination resulted in a fluctuating pattern of revolt and repression, in the course of which the old dynasty of the Kathīrīs in the Ḥaḍramawt was destroyed and replaced by the Yāfi'īs. At the end of this century of constant and inconclusive warfare, southern Arabia was left weak and divided, a medley of petty princedoms.

The tangled and confused history of this period is here treated for the first time, using all the known sources, most of which still remain in manuscript form and are scattered throughout the libraries of the world; and the aim has been to present a consistent narrative of events. Most existing studies of the region in this period have been limited to the activities of the European trading nations here, and the present work should supply a background to the materials which they present and elucidate certain of the problems they raise.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- Bughyat: ‘Āmir b. ‘Āmir, Bughyat al-Murīd wa ‘Uns al-Farīd Fī Man Waladuhu ‘s-Sayyid ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ar-Rashīd.
- Bulūgh al-Umniya: Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn ar-Rūsī, Bulūgh al-Umniya Fī ‘s-Sirat al-Mutawakkilliyya.
- Dec.: the Christian month of December.
- Ghāyat al-Amānī: Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim, Ghāyat al-Amānī Fī Akhbār al-Qutr al-Yamanī.
- GAL: Carl Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur.
- GALS: Carl Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur, Supplementary.
- Hadiyyat az-Zaman: Aḥmad al-‘Abdalī, Hadiyyat az-Zaman Fī Akhbār Mulūk Lahij wa ‘Adan.
- Ḥaḍramawt wa ‘Adan: Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī, Ḥaḍramawt wa ‘Adan wa ‘Imārat al-Janūb al-‘Arabī.
- Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta’rīkh: Sālīm b. Ḥamid, Ta’rīkh al-Faqīh al-Mu’arrikh ash-Shaykh Sālīm b. Muḥammad... b. Ḥamīd Maḥdhufan Minhu ‘l-Istiṭrādādāt wa Malā Ta‘alluq Lahu Bi-Ta’rīkh Ḥaḍramawt.
- Ibn Hāshim, Ta’rīkh: Muḥammad b. Hāshim, Ta’rīkh ad-Dawlat al-Kathiriyya.
- Ikhtiṣār: Ismā‘īl b. Aḥmad, Ikhtiṣār Anbā’ ‘z-Zaman Fī Ta’rīkh al-Yaman wa ‘Idāfāt Min Ta’rīkh Muḥsin b. Ḥasan Tīb al-Kisā Fī Akhbār Dawlat al-Mutawakkil ‘Alā ‘llāh al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn.
- ‘Iqd al-Jawāhir: Muḥammad ash-Shillī, ‘Iqd al-Jawāhir wa ‘d-Durar Fī Akhbār al-Qarn al-Ḥadī ‘Ashar.
- Istidrākāt wa Taḥarriyāt: ‘Abdi-‘llāh Bā-‘l-Faqīh, Istidrākāt wa Taḥarriyāt ‘Alā Ta’rīkh Ḥaḍramawt Fī Shakhṣiyyāt.

Ithāf al-Anfās: Anonymous, Ithāf al-Anfās Fī Mā waqa'a
Bayna 'Awlād Ishāq b. al-Mahdī wa Mawlānā 'l-
Imām al-Manṣūr Bi-'llāh Rabb al-'Ālamīn....
al-Ḥusayn b. ... al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-
Mahdī.

Jam.i: the Hijrī month of Jamād al-Awwal.

Jam.ii: the Hijrī month of Jamād ath-Thānī.

al-Jāmi' al-Wajīz: Aḥmad b. 'Abd-Allāh al-Jindārī,
al-Jāmi' al-Wajīz Fī Wafayāt al-'Ulamā 'Ulī
't-Tabrīz.

Janā 'shmārīkh: 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir al-Haddād, Janā 'sh-
Shmārīkh Jawāb As'ila Fī 't-Ta'rīkh.

al-Jawhara: al-Muṭahhar al-Jurmūzī, al-Jawharat al-Muḍī'
Fī Ta'rīkh al-Khilāfat al-Mu'ayyadiyya.

al-La'ālī': Aḥmad ash-Sharafī, al-La'ālī' 'l-Muḍī'a Fī
Akhbār A'immat az-Zaydiyya Wa Muqtaṣidī 'l-
'Itrat az-Zakiyya Wa Man 'Āraḍahumu Min Sā'ir
al-Bariyya.

al-Laṭā'if: Muḥammad al-Kibṣī, al-Laṭā'if as-Saniyya Fī
Akhbār al-Mamālik al-Yamaniyya.

al-Mashra': Muḥammad ash-Shillī, al-Mashra' ar-Rawī Fī
Manāqib as-Sādat al-Kirām Āl Abī 'Alawī.

Muh: the Hijrī month of Muḥarram.

Nafḥat al-'Anbar: Ibrāhīm al-Ḥijāfī, Nafḥat al-'Anbar
Wa 'n-Nadd ad-Dā'ir Fī Maḥājir ath-Thanā Wa
'l-Ḥamid, Sīrat Amīr al-Mu'mimīn....al-Mahdī
Li-Dīni 'llāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad.

Nashr al-'Urf: Muḥammad Zabāra, Nashr al-'Urf Li-Nubalā'
'l-Yaman Ba'd al-Alf.

Nubdha: Aḥmad al-'Aṭṭās, Nubdha Fī Nusbat as-Sāda Wa
'l-Mashā'ikh wa 'l-Qabā'il Bi-Ḥaḍramawt.

an-Nūr al-Mushriq: Aḥmad b. Ḥanash, an-Nūr al-Mushriq Fī
Fath al-Mashriq Wa Mā Bihi 'Ulḥiq.

Rab. I: the Hijrī month of Rabī' al-Awwal.

Rab. II: the Hijrī month of Rabī' ath-Thānī.

Raj.: the Hijrī month of Rajab.

Ram.: the Hijrī month of Ramaḍān.

Rawḍat al-Maythānī: Muḥammad al-Habal, Rawḍat al-Maythānī
Fī Ta'rīkh al-Imām al-Qāsim wa 'Awladuhu 'l-
Khulafā' wa 'l-Umarā' 'l-A'lām.

ar-Rawḍ az-Zāhir: Zayd b. Abū 'r-Rijāl, ar-Rawḍ az-Zāhir
Sharḥ Sira Mawlānā 'Amīr al-Mu'minīn an-Nāṣir
Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim.

Riyāḍ al-'Asjad: Muḥsin b. Abū Tālib, Riyāḍ al-'Asjad
wa 'z-Zahr al-Yānī' al-Munaḍḍad.

Rūḥ ar-Rūḥ: 'Isā b. Luṭf-Allāh, Rūḥ ar-Rūḥ Fī Mā Jarā
Ba'd al-Mi'at at-Tāsi'a Min al-Futuḥ.

Rūḥ ar-Rūḥ: Ṣalāh b. Luṭf-Allāh, Rūḥ ar-Rūḥ Fī Mā Ḥadatha
Ba'd al-Mi'at at-Tāsi'a Min al-Futuḥ.

Shaw.: the Hijrī month of Shawwāl.

ash-Shudhūr: Muḥsin b. Abū Tālib, ash-Shudhūr al-
'Asjadiyya Fī 'l-Khilafat al-Aḥmadiyya.

as-Siḥr al-Mubīn: Muḥsin b. Abū Tālib, as-Siḥr al-
Mubīn wa Futur al-Ḥāḍ al-'Ayn Fī Mā Sanāḥa
Min Akhbār al-Yaman wa 'Ahlihi al-Mayāmīn.

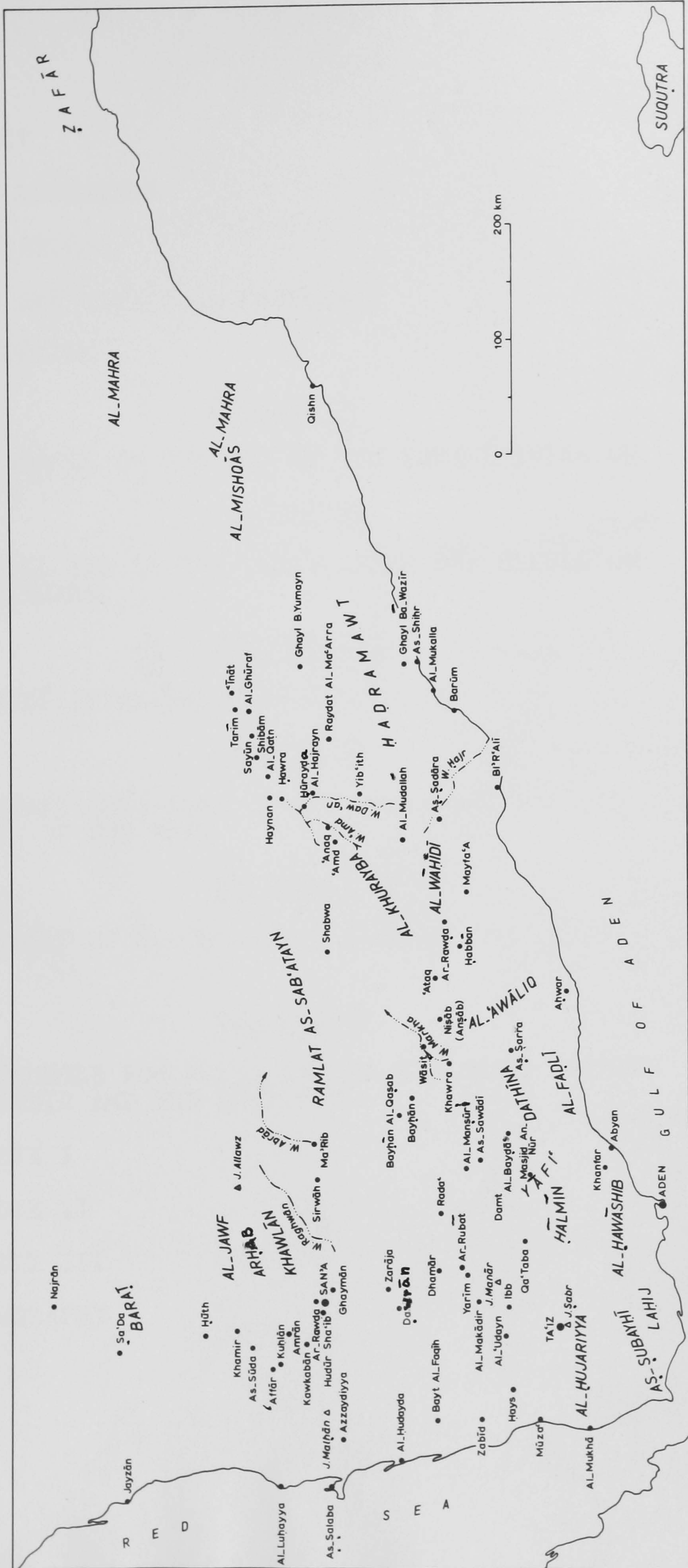
Sīrat al-Mu'ayyad: al-Muṭahhar al-Jurmūzī, Sīra
Mawlānā 'Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Mu'ayyad Bi-
'llāh b. al-Mansūr Bi-'llāh.

S.M.I.: al-Muṭahhar al-Jurmūzī, [Sīrat al-Mutawakkil
Ismā'il b. al-Qāsim].

Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwā: 'Abd-Allāh b. al-Wazīr, Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwā
wa Ṣiḥāf al-Mann wa 's-Salwā.

The Muslim and Christian Calenders

| Hijrī Year | Christian date of Muharram I | Hijrī year | Christian date of Muharram I |
|------------|---------------------------------|------------|---------------------------------|
| 1036 | 22 September 1626 | 1100 | 26 October 1688 |
| 1037 | 12 September 1627 | 1101 | 15 October 1689 |
| 1038 | 31 August 1628 | 1102 | 5 October 1690 |
| 1039 | 21 August 1629 | 1103 | 24 September 1691 |
| 1040 | 10 August 1630 | 1104 | 12 September 1692 |
| 1041 | 30 July 1631 | 1105 | 2 September 1693 |
| 1042 | 19 July 1632 | 1106 | 22 August 1694 |
| 1043 | 8 July 1633 | 1107 | 12 August 1695 |
| 1044 | 27 June 1634 | 1108 | 31 July 1696 |
| 1045 | 17 June 1635 | 1109 | 20 July 1697 |
| 1046 | 5 June 1636 | 1110 | 10 July 1698 |
| 1047 | 26 May 1637 | 1111 | 29 June 1699 |
| 1048 | 15 May 1638 | 1112 | 18 June 1700 |
| 1049 | 4 May 1639 | 1113 | 8 June 1701 |
| 1050 | 23 April 1640 | 1114 | 28 May 1702 |
| | | | |
| 1065 | 11 November 1654 | 1131 | 24 November 1718 |
| 1066 | 31 October 1655 | 1132 | 14 November 1719 |
| 1067 | 20 October 1656 | 1133 | 2 November 1720 |
| 1068 | 9 October 1657 | 1134 | 22 October 1721 |
| 1069 | 29 September 1658 | 1135 | 12 October 1722 |
| 1070 | 18 September 1659 | 1136 | 1 October 1723 |
| 1071 | 6 September 1660 | 1137 | 20 September 1724 |
| 1072 | 27 August 1661 | 1138 | 9 September 1725 |
| 1073 | 16 August 1662 | 1139 | 29 August 1726 |
| 1074 | 5 August 1663 | 1140 | 19 August 1727 |
| 1075 | 25 July 1664 | 1141 | 7 August 1728 |
| 1076 | 14 July 1665 | 1142 | 27 July 1729 |
| 1077 | 4 July 1666 | 1143 | 17 July 1730 |
| 1078 | 23 June 1667 | 1144 | 6 July 1731 |
| 1079 | 11 June 1668 | 1145 | 24 June 1732 |



Southern Arabia, showing the location of places and tribal areas mentioned in the thesis.

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INTRODUCTION

SURVEY OF THE SOURCES

The history of the Islāmic states in the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula has not yet attracted wide scholarly attention in the West, and despite the studies of scholars such as A.S. Tritton, Robert Serjeant and L.O. Schuman¹ most of the work done in this field has come from local or native historians. During the reign of Sultān Süleymān I (1520-1566), parts of the region were loosely incorporated into the Ottoman Empire and the Turks were to remain dominant here for a century, yet even modern Turkish scholars have shown little interest in this phase of their imperial history.² Commercial expansion brought the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English to the port cities of the littoral, but even the mass of documents arising from these ventures have not yet been studied in a local context. Consequently, as far as the West is concerned, the states in this region are without a proper history and most of the information available comes from the reports of travellers.

The present study attempts to focus attention on one aspect of this history, when the Zaydī Imāms of the Yaman, having succeeded in expelling the Turks, sought to bring the

-
1. Of course, this observation does not include the vast amount of scholarship devoted to the pre-Islāmic period; Cf. The Bibliography in H. van Wissmann, Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde von Alt-Südarabien, Wien 1964.
 2. Cenqiz Orhanlu and Şālih Özbran have each published several articles connected with this and neighbouring regions in the Tarih Dergisi of Istanbul University.

whole region under their control. It is a period of particular interest in as much as, for probably the first time, the various states in the region were brought into a political confrontation which implied survival or extinction for each. Moreover, we possess a variety of native historical materials contemporary with the events and written from varying viewpoints, allowing a balanced view of the period. The aim has been to provide the narrative of the internal history, leaving interpretation to future studies; for it was felt that without a reliable chronology of events speculation would be of little value.

The work commences with the Imāmate of al-Mu'ayyad of Āl al-Qāsim, who led the revolt against the Turks and brought about their expulsion. The events of his reign have been most fully recorded by two contemporary Zaydī historians, ash-Sharafī and al-Jurmūzī.

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad ash-Sharafī (975-1055/1567-1645), served the Imāms al-Manṣūr and al-Mu'ayyad as governor of certain sections of the Yaman.³ His history, al-La'alī', al-Muḍī'a fī Akhbār A'immat az-Zaydiyya is a commentary on the bisāma (i.e. qaṣīda) of Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Wazīr (860-914/1455-1508) and its continuation by Dā'ūd b. Hādī b. Aḥmad (980-1035/1572-1625), works which give the history of the Zaydī Imāms from earliest times down to their own age. Volume iii of ash-Sharafī's work is itself a continuation of

3. Bughyat al-Murīd, f.52b; ash-Shawkānī, M. al-Badr at-Tāli', i, p. 119.

that of Dā'ūd, the verses being accompanied by a prose commentary, and it is this volume which contains the events of the reigns of the two Imāms mentioned above.⁴ A transcript of a manuscript of the work (probably in the private possession of some local Yamanī family) was made by A.S. Tritton as part of his doctoral dissertation in Edinburgh University, The Rise of the Imāms of Ṣan'ā, 1918, which is in fact, but a translation of this text.⁵ Tritton's text bears no title, but another copy of Vol. iii is preserved in the Ambrosiana Library in Milan, and this is entitled al-Juz'u 'th-Thālith min al-La'ālī' al-Mudī'a fī Akhbār A'immat az-Zaydiyya wa muqtasidī 'l-'itra' az-Zakiyya wa man 'Āraḍahumu min Sā'ir al-Bariyya.⁶ Although the latter is more extensive than the Edinburgh copy, beginning in the reign of the Imām al-Washālī Muḥammad b. 'Alī (d. 910) and including those of five of his successors before reaching al-Manṣūr, from this point on the two copies are in general agreement, and for this reason no objection was seen in using Edinburgh copy for the present work.

The Ambrosiana MS contains important information on the century preceding the advent of the Āl al-Qāsim Imāms: the wars of the Zaydīs with the Ṭāhirids of Aden, the Turkish invasion of 945 and the continuing struggle of the Imāms

4. Zabāra, Muḥammad, Nashr al-'Urf li-Nubalā' 'l-Yaman ba'd al-Alf, II, p. 130.

5. Brockelman, GAL. Sii, 550, erroneously attributes this dissertation to A.S. Fulton. The MS bears no date of transcription, and the earliest date of possession to be found on the fly-leaf is 1090.

6. Griffini, E., 'Lista dei Manoscritti Arabi Nuova Fonda Della Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano', Rivista Degli Studi Orientali, vii (1916-18, pp. 578. It was copied in 1062.

against them, the unsuccessful revolt of the Imām al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī in 993, etc. Dā’ūd’s dhayl ends in 994, and it is from the da‘wa of the Imām al-Qāsim (1006) that ash-Sharafī’s verse continuation commences. The section dealing with the Imāmate of al-Qāsim is divided into several sections: his descent from the Prophet, his teachers, his da‘wa, and the books he wrote both prior to and after becoming Imām. The Edinburgh copy begins with the da‘wa and his revolt against the Turks in 1006, and continues down to the year 1053 in the Imāmate of al-Mu’ayyad. Ash-Sharafī indicates his sources for the earlier period, but once he comes to the reigns of al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim and his successor he relies on his own knowledge and the information he collected from other eye-witnesses.

Al-Muṭahhar b. Muḥammad al-Jurmūzī (1003-1077/1594-1666)⁷ was governor of ‘Utama during the reign of the Imām al-Mu’ayyad, and for a time under that of his successor the Imām al-Mutawakkil Ismā‘īl.⁸ He was a devoted supporter of the Zaydīs, and this bias is everywhere apparent in his work, none of their opponents were being shown sympathetic consideration.

7. This, and not al-Jarmūzī as given by Serjeant, is the correct vocalization of the name. Cf. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaymī, Tīb as-Samar fī awqāt as-Saḥar, II, f.109b, sqq.

8. Al-Badr at-Tāli‘, I, p.183 n.1. repeated from Bahjat az-Zaman; al-Muḥibbī; Khulaṣat al-Athar, iv, p. 406, from where the information is derived a certain work written by al-Ḥusayn al-Muhalla (d.1111) whose father was a close friend of al-Muṭahhar al-Jurmūzī.

Al-Jurmūzī wrote the biographies of three Zaydī Imāms: al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim⁹ and his two sons, al-Mu'ayyad and al-Mutawakkil. His biographies of the second and third are of most concern to the present study, that dealing with al-Mu'ayyad bearing the title: al-Jawharat al-Mudī'a fī Ta'rīkh al-Khilāfat al-Mu'ayyadiyya.¹⁰ In this he describes the birth and education of the Imām, the events leading up to his accession, the books which he wrote and the correspondence he conducted with other rulers outside the Yaman. The work is dominated by the account of the struggle against the Turks, which was to culminate with the expulsion of Qānṣūh Pāshā from here in 1045/1635. Events outside the Yaman are, also, treated including Zaydī activities in South Arabia previous to their large-scale invasion of the area, and the attack they made on the tribes lying to their north.

The Berlin MS of the work finished in Ramaḍān 1063, would appear to be the author's own original draft with certain lacunae left in the text to be filled in later and many marginal notes and corrections. A portion of the early part of the work is preserved in the Leiden University MS No. 6999(2), ff. 179-196, bearing the title: al-Jawharat al-Munīra fī Jumal min Akhbār...al-Mu'ayyad...Muḥammad b. al-Manṣūr bī-'llāh al-Qāsim.¹¹ Another fragmentary copy is in

9. His biography of al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim is entitled: an-Nubdhat al-Mushīra, British Museum Or. 3329. Cf. GAL.Sii.551.

10. The Berlin MS of the work was used here. Cf. Ahlwardt, W. Verzeichniss der Arabischen Handschriften der Königlischen Bibliothek zu Berlin. Vol. 9. p. 251. No.9744; GAL. Gii, 402; Sii, 551.

11. Voorhoeve, P., Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other collections in the Netherlands, p. 99.

the Ambrosiana collection, No. A115, and the title of this appears as: al-Juz'u 'th-Thānī min as-Sīrat al-Mubāraka Sīra Mawlānā 'Amīr al-Mu'minūn al-Mu'ayyad bi-'llāh b. al-Mansūr bi-'llāh.¹² This later deals with the years (1040-1054/1630-1644), and at the end contains certain poems written on the death of al-Mu'ayyad. Although the copy was made in 1140/1727, poems were added in 1154/1741, and there is also a note that the prices were rising up in Ṣan'ā in Rab. II, 1154. Although the Berlin MS ends with notices of the 'ulamā of al-Mu'ayyad's reign, these are omitted in the Ambrosiana copy. Al-Jurmūzī based his history on his own personal knowledge, and on information derived from the participants in the events.

The third biography was used for the present study in the MS preserved in the Vatican library, No. 971. The latter is without title, and it, too, would seem to be an autograph draft, being very much like the Berlin MS of the work on the Imām al-Mu'ayyad.¹³ The work, which was left incomplete at the time of the author's death, is very poorly organized, obviously being a rough draft due for revision. It begins with the Zaydī invasion of South Arabia in 1054; but apart from the details of these campaigns, it also devotes attention to the internal affairs of the Yaman. Mention is made of local people who visited other sections of the Islāmic world,

12. Griffini, E., 'Lista dei Manoscritti Arabi Nouva fonda Della Biblioteca Ambrosiana Di Milano', Rivista Degli Studi Orientali, Vol. III, 1910, p. 910.

13. Such, too, is the impression of G. Levi Della Vida, Elenco dei Manoscritti Arabi Islāmici Della Biblioteca Vaticana, p. 104.

and of especial interest is the account of the visit made by al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī to Ethiopia with the purpose of converting the Emperor to Islām. The attack by Dutch pirates on the port of al-Mukhā in 1070 or 1071 is described in some detail.¹⁴ The various risālas written by the Imām are incorporated unaltered into the text.

Another copy of this work is to be found in the library of al-Mukalla in the Ḥaḍramawt, No. ta'rīkh, 316, in which al-Jurmūzī's son al-Ḥasan is incorrectly named as the author. The latter was merely one of the informants used by al-Jurmūzī.

Also important for the period under consideration are two other works. The Ta'rīkh Dawlat at-Turk, by the son of a certain al-Mahdī b. al-Ḥādī, who was with the Imām al-Manṣūr in 1020. The author tells us that he was thirteen years old in 1052, which would place his birth in 1039. He completed his works in 1101. Despite the title, the work is really a history of the Zaydī Imāms, beginning in the year 986 and ending with the death of al-Mu'ayyad in 1054. Only one MS of the work has been located: in the Khizanat al-Mutawakiliyya in Ṣan'ā, No. 37.¹⁵ The author mentions that he wrote another work, with the title Sīrat al-Imām al-Mutawakkil, but as yet no copy of this has come to light. Like the two historians already mentioned, this author also

14. This account is the basis for R.B. Serjeant's treatment of the incident in The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast, pp. 114-129.

15. Fihrist Kutub al-Khizānat al-Mutawakkiliyyat al-ʿĀmira bi-ʿl-Jāmiʿ al-Muqaddas bi-Ṣan'ā ʿl-ʿĀmira, p. 150.

collected his information from participants in the events dealt with, and in particular from his own father.

The second of these histories is the Rūḥ ar-Rūḥ of Ṣalāḥ b. 'Īsā-b.Luṭf-Allāh (d. 1084), who is not mentioned in any of the usual Yamanī biographical sources. His father 'Īsā (986-1048)¹⁶ wrote a work with the same title¹⁷ to which the son's work was a sequel. Whereas 'Īsā's work was mainly concerned with the Turkish rule in the Yaman, Ṣalāḥ's is for the most part devoted to a history of the Zaydī Imāms from 1030-1062.¹⁸ Ṣalāḥ derived his information mainly from his father for the first part of his history, and for the remainder seems to have depended on his own observations. The work is very concise, and not so accurate as the others which have been mentioned so far.

Among the most important sources for the period are the biographical works of Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr ash-Shillī (1030-1093/1620-1682). He was a Ḥaḍramī scholar settled in Mecca, who in his youth travelled far in pursuit of knowledge, reaching Zafar and India. On his return to Mecca, he studied under several famous scholars in the city, and later was himself a teacher at the Ḥaram. Later in life, illness forced him into retirement.¹⁹ His still unpublished biographical dictionary of the 'ulamā of the 11th century of the Hijra - 'Iqd al-Jawāhir wa 'd-Durar fī

16. Biographical information on him is to be found in al-Badr at-Ṭālī, I, p. 516.

17. A MS is in the British Museum, No. OR 4583.

18. A MS is in the Ambrosiana Library, No. D284 Arabo.

19. ash-Shillī, Muḥammad, al-Mashra' ar-Rawī, II, pp.17-19; al-Muḥibbi, Khulāṣat al-Athar, III, 336-38. Cf. GAL, ii, 383.

Akhbār al-Qarn al-Hādī 'Ashar - commencing with the year 1001, records the lives of the prominent scholars of the Islāmic world. The entries are arranged according to the year in which the subjects died, in the usual wafayāt manner; and information is given about the birth and ancestry of each, his teachers, his students, and the books which he wrote. He mentions the works from which he derived his information, though often he also has personal knowledge of the individuals he treats. The work comes down to 1093, the year in which he died.²⁰

Another work by the same author - al-Mashra' ar-Rawī fī Manāqib as-Sādatal-Kirām Āl Abī 'Alawī - deals exclusively with the Sayyids of the Ḥaḍramawt.²¹ The work is divided into an introduction, two chapters and a conclusion. The introduction treats of the virtues (faḍl) of the descendents of the Prophet; * Chap. II goes into the biographical details of individual Sayyids and their descendents. The conclusion deals with the khirqā, which in the context means the esoteric traditions of the Sayyids.

The an-Nūr al-Mushriq fī Fath al-Mashriq wa mā ba'dahu 'Ulḥiq by Aḥmad b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Ḥanash,²² one of the historians of Āl al-Qāsim, is a contemporary source for part

20. The Cambridge MS. was used in this study, Or. 1402(11); Cf. A.J. Arberry, A Second Supplementary Hand-list of the Muḥammadan Manuscripts in the University Colleges of Cambridge, p.32; also, GAL, ii, 383; Sii, 516.

21. The text used was that printed in Cairo, 1319. Cf. GAL, Sii, 516.

22. On whom, cf. Bughyat al-Murīd, f87b. His work was used in the MS. of the al-Mutawakkiliyya Library in Ṣan'a, No. 72, ta'rīkh. cf. Fihrist Kutub al-Khizanat al-Mutawakkiliyya al-'Āmira bi 'l-Jāmi' al-Muqaddas bi-Ṣan'a, p. 256.

of the period covered here. He was a Zaydī faqīh, recognized as an authority on furū' and uṣul, and he mentions in his work that he at times gave advice to the Imām. His history was written in four volumes, but only the third has survived, and of this only one copy is to be found in the public collections. This manuscript, too, seems to be incomplete. The author of the Bughyat al-Murīd, however, used Vol. I for his information on the early career of the Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan. Vol. III begins in Ṣafar 1071, in the Imamāte of al-Mutawakkil, and it records in minute detail the daily events of life in the Yaman, and the affairs of the Imām's family. Relations with South Arabia, Mecca and India, also, are given consideration. The work ends in Dhū 'l-Ḥijja, 1079.

Another contemporary historian is 'Āmir b. Muḥammad b. 'Āmir (1062-1135), the author of biographical dictionary, Bughyat al-Murīd wa'Uns al-Farīd fī man waladuhu 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. ar-Rashīd.²³ It contains an excellent account of the descendants of Sayyid 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Amlahī (d. 977/1569), and although primarily a work of biography, it also includes much of interest concerning the political life of the Yaman. The Imām al-Qāsim, the founder of the Qāsimite line of Imāms, was the grandson of al-Amlahī. 'Āmir treats the individuals of whom he writes in the usual way, mentioning their birth, descent, and the persons under

23. His biography is given by Zabāra, Nashr al-'Urf, II, 5; the MS. used here is that of the British Museum, Or. 3719 copied in 1290. Cf. C. Rieu, Supplementary to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Museum, p. 338; also, GAL, ii, 552.

whom they studied; the students who studied under them and the books which they wrote are also noticed. However, he includes, as well, the events in which they were involved, and gives details about other individuals with whom they came into contact. For the early part of his work, 'Āmr used written sources, but when he approached his own time he relied on personal knowledge and observation, and on materials collected from other contemporary witnesses. From his work, we learn that he enjoyed a certain connection with the Imām al-Mahdī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad. The work, according to Zabāra, was completed in 1126, and 'Āmir's son is reported as saying that his father had instructed him to re-arrange certain of the materials it contained - which he did not do!

'Abd-Allāh b. 'Alī b. al-Wazīr (1074-1147/1663-1734), the historian and poet, is one of the great scholars of the Yaman. His work - Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwā wa Ṣiḥāf al-man wa 'as-Salwā - is a general history of the Islāmic world with special reference to the Yaman.²⁴ It begins in 1046 with an account of the affairs of the dynasty in Morocco; but it bears its chief importance for the present study with the materials it presents on the three Imāms of Āl al-Qāsim: al-Mu'ayyad, al-Mutawakkil and al-Mahdī, and of the events which occurred in their reigns.

24. His biography is given in al-Badr at-Ṭālī', 1, 388; Nashr al-'Urf, II, 113-117. The MS. used here is that of the British Museum, Or 3919, copied in 1191; Cf. C. Rieu, Supplementary Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Museum, p. 383; also, GAL, ii, 399.

The work is in two parts: the first, completed in 1115, comes down to the end of the year 1080; while the second, completed in 1118, begins with the year 1081 and ends with 1090. The work drew upon the Bahjat az-Zaman of Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim - a work not yet located in the public collections - which was a continuation of the same author's Anbā' 'z-Zaman fī Ta'rīkh al-Yaman.

Another poet and historian, Muḥsin b. al-Ḥasan b. Abū Ṭālib (1103-1170/1691-1756), is the author of several general histories and works of biography, his chronicle, ash-Shudhūr al-'Asjadiyya fī 'l-Khilāfatal-Aḥmadiyya, being of particular importance to the period under consideration here.²⁵ He was not, however, an impartial observer, and his obvious prejudices vitiate to some extent the value of his work. The account begins in the year 1056, two years after the accession of al-Mutawakkil, and continues through the reigns of his three successors, ending in 1114. His main source is the Bahjat az-Zaman of Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn, and his main theme is the history of the Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, what precedes being more or less an introduction.

His second historical work - As-Siḥr al-Mubīn wa futūr

25. For his biography, cf. al-Badr at-Ṭāli', II, p. 76, Nashr al-'Urf, II, pp. 408-410. The manuscript used is that of Yale University, No. L656; cf. Leon Nemoy, Arabic Manuscripts in the Yale University Library, p. 140, where the title is incorrectly given.

Alḥāḏ al-‘Ayn²⁶ - was written at the request of certain friends, among them the vezīr ‘Alī b. Aḥmad Rājih (d.1163/1749). This work begins in 1092 with the reign of the Imām al-Mu‘ayyad Muḥammad and continues down to 1130, the year in which his successor the Imām al-Mahdī died. The work was completed in 1167. It is important in that it contains detailed accounts of the two revolts which took place in the time of the latter Imām, the second of which deposed him from the Imāmate.

Finally, his Riyāḏ al-‘Asjad wa ‘z-Zahr al-Yāni‘ al-Munaḏḏad, a commentary on the qaṣīda of Sayyid Ismā‘īl b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Fā‘i‘ (1106-1185/1694-1771) which tells the history of the Imām al-Manṣūr al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim²⁷ (1139-1161/1726-1784). He had already treated of the events which occurred in the reign of this Imām in the biography of the Imām al-Mutawakkil entitled Aqrāṭ al-Lujayn, a work ending in the year 1042; but in this commentary he elaborates the information given there and adds much that is new. In the margin of the British Museum MS. there are certain notes defending some of the individuals whom the author attacks. This was never brought to completion, ending in the year 1141 with the assassination of Ibn al-Aḥmar by the Imām.

26. The MS. used here is that of the Dār al-Kutūb, Cairo, No. 1418. Cf. Fihrist al-Kutub al-‘Arabiyya al-Mawjūda bi-‘d-Dār li-Ghāya Shahr December 1928, p. 215. Also, GAL, Sii, 552.

27. Used in the British Museum MS. Or 337, cf. Charles Rieu, Supplementary to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Museum, p. 340.

Another historian contemporary with the Āl al-Qāsim was Zayd b. Ṣāliḥ b. Abū 'r-Rijāl, a brother of the eminent qāḍī Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Abū 'r-Rijāl (1029-1092/1619-1681). No mention of him is made in the usual biographical works, and the taqrīḍ by 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Yaḥyā b. al-Mu'ayyad (d. 1126/1714) at the beginning of his history (f.3a) is vague as to details of his life. His biography of the Imām an-Nāṣir (later, al-Mahdī) has the title: Ar-Rawḍ az-Zāhir Sharḥ Sīra Mawlānā 'Amīr al-Mu'minīn an-Nāṣir²⁸ and is a commentary on the urjūza entitled Nuzhat al-Baṣā'ir fī Sīrat al-Imām an-Nāṣir by Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Murhabī (1054-1113/1644-1701), a follower of this Imām.²⁹ The work begins with certain events in the Imām's life prior to his accession, introduced to show that he was a worthy person for this office. Details are given of his descent from the Prophet, his accession in 1097, his wars in the Yaman and South Arabia, and his relationship with the rulers of Mecca.

The work was commissioned by the Imām an-Nāṣir, and from remarks in the text it would appear that it was in course of composition in Shawwāl 1106; however, it was

28. Used in the British Museum MS. Or 3847; cf. Charles Rieu, Supplementary to the Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the British Museum, p. 337, also, GAL, Sii, 546.

29. A copy of this urjūza is in Leiden University, No. Or 6335(1); cf. P. Voorhoeve, Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other collections in the Netherlands, p. 259. On the author, cf. Nashr al-'Urf, II, pp. 615-17.

not completed until Ram. 1109. The work is divided into four parts, each devoted to one topic: the early life of the Imām; wars in South Arabia; wars inside the Yaman; relations with Mecca. All this information is introduced as a commentary on one or more lines from the urjūza.

Al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn ar-Rūsī wrote a biography of the Imām al-Mutawakkil al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn (1128-1139/1715-26) under the title: Bulūgh al-Umniya fī Sīrat al-Mutawakkil.³⁰ The author was a follower of the Imām's son, al-Ḥusayn, but beyond this nothing else is known about him.

The work is eulogistic in nature; al-Qāsim's military achievements before becoming Imām are described; and also the unjust way in which his uncle the Imām al-Mahdī treated him. On himself becoming Imām, revolt and civil war broke out in the Yaman, and this work is one of the best accounts we have of these troubles. The work ends in the year 1133.

The anonymous work, Ithāf al-Anfās fī Mā Waqa'a Bayna 'Awlād Ishāq b. al-Mahdī wa Mawlānā 'l-Imām al-Mansūral-Ḥusayn b.....al-Mutawakkil al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mahdī,³¹ is another contemporary account of events,

30. Used here in the British Museum MS. No. Or 3857, cf. Charles Rieu, Supplementary to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Museum, p. 340; also, GAL, Sii, 552.

31. The only known MS is that in Lieden University, Or 7096 written in 1202; Cf. P. Voorheove, Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other Collections in the Netherland, p. 193.

particularly important for the details it gives about the wars between the rival Imāms, al-Manṣūr and an-Nāṣir. The work is openly hostile to the cousins of al-Manṣūr, the five sons of Ishāq, despite the protestations of the author that he intended to be objective in his account. A marginal note at the end of the MS states that it was completed in Dhū 'l-Qa'da 1141.

Important among later sources are the works of the three following historians:

Sālim b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamīd (1217-1316/1801-1898) was born in Tarīs in the Ḥaḍramawt and educated by the 'ulamā of the region. He, also, formed an association with the ṣūfīs of the Ḥaḍramawt. His account of the revolt of the Ḥaḍramīs against the Yāfi'īs in 1265/1848 has earned for him the title of al-Mu'arrikh as-Siyāsī. He entered the service of the Kathīrīs as a palace secretary in 1265, and was thus an eye-witness to many of the events he records. After the death of his patron, Sultān Ghālib b. Muḥsin al-Kathīrī in 1278/1861, he put the notices he had been collecting into order and composed his history.³²

His work is a long and detailed general history of the Ḥaḍramawt, with reference to the events which took

32. As-Saqqāf, Ta'liqāt to the Riḥlat al-Ashwāq al-Qawīyya Ilā Mawāṭin as-Sādat al-'Alawīyya of 'Abd-Allāh b. Muḥammad Bā-Kathīr, p. 23.

place in other parts of South Arabia and the Yaman, and probably was entitled: al-'Uddat al-Mufīdat al-Jāmi'a li-Tawārīkh Qadīma wa Jadīda.³³ It begins in the year 566 and comes down to 1308; and for events previous to his own time he, of course, uses the earlier historians, the works of some of which have not yet been located in public collections; e.g. the ta'rīkhs of aṣ-Ṣāfī, Aḥmad Bā-'Abbād, etc.

Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Kibṣī (1221-1308/1806-1890), the Yamanī scholar and poet, was born in Hijrat al-Kibṣ in Upper Khawlān. He enjoyed a reputation as a teacher, and is the author of several books, some on history.³⁴

His al-Laṭā'if as-Saniyya fī Akhbār al-Mamālik al-Yamaniyya is a concise general history of the Yaman since the rise of Islām down to the year 1293,³⁵ but unlike the history of Ibn Ḥamīd. It uses no works which are today unknown; in fact, he admitted that he frequently wrote

33. Such is the title of the copy in the private possession of Mr. A.F. Watts, a former British official in the Ḥaḍramawt; Cf. R.B. Serjeant, "Materials for South Arabian History", Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. XIII (1949-50), p. 297. The MS used for this study was in the possession of Sayyid 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād, the former muftī^{of} Jahore in Malaya, and bears the title: Ta'rīkh al-Faqīh al-Mu'arrikh ash-Shaykh Sālīm b. Ḥamīd Maḥdhūfan minhu 'l-Istiṭrādāt wa Malā Ta'alluq lahu bi-Ta'rīkh Ḥaḍramawt.

34. Zabāra, Aimmat al-Yaman bi-'l-Qarn ar-Rābi' 'Ashar, part 1, p. 22.

35. Yale University, No. L439, copied in Rab. II, 1297; cf. L. Nemoy, Arabic Manuscripts in the Yale University Library, p. 140.

from memory without consulting books.

Aḥmad b. ‘Abd-Allāh al-Jindārī (d.1337/1918), another Yamanī scholar and poet, is the author of a brief history of Islām, with special reference to the Zaydī Imāms, entitled al-Jāmi‘ al-Wajīz fī Wafayāt al-‘Ulamā ‘Ulī ‘t-Tabrīz.³⁶ It begins in the time of the Prophet and ends in the year 1332, and was only of very limited usefulness in the present study.

Modern published works, such as the Ta’rīkh ad-Dawlat al-Kathīriyya by Muḥammad b. Hāshim (1300- ?),³⁷ occasionally uses sources not generally available; but they are frequently (as in the work mentioned) prejudiced in viewpoint and to be used with appropriate caution.

The Hadiyyat az-Zaman fī Akhbār Mulūk Laḥij wa ‘Adan by Aḥmad b. Faḍl al-‘Abdalī,³⁸ which treats of the history of Laḥij and Aden from earliest times down to the year 1349/1930, uses a few sources pertinent to the period of this study which were not otherwise available, as well as local documents.

36. Used in the MS preserved in al-Jāmi‘ al-Kabīr Library, Ṣan‘ā, unnumbered, copied in Rab. I, 1322.

37. For his life, cf. as-Saqqāf, Ta’rīkh ash-Shu‘arā ‘l-Ḥaḍramiyyīn, V, pp. 289-295. His work is in three volumes, only the first of which has been published, Cairo, 1367/1948.

38. Printed in Cairo, 1351.

CHAPTER 1

SOUTH ARABIA ON THE EVE OF THE YAMANĪ INVASION

The revolt of the Imām al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad against the Turks in the Yaman in 1006 had serious repercussion through the whole of South Arabia,¹ and these were repeated in 1036 when his son and successor, al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad, led another rebellion. It was from this time that Yamanī intervention in South Arabia actually began, even though they had for a long time previously tried to extend their influence here by military and diplomatic means.² On the suggestion of al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Jawfī letters were now sent to 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Umar al-Kathīrī and the chief 'Alawī Sayyids, urging them to support the Zaydī cause

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1. On this revolt by al-Qāsim (967-1029), cf. al-Muṭahhar al-Jurmūzī, an-Nubdhāt al-Muhhira, in which work, also, there is extensive biographical detail on this Zaydī Imām. Other works which treated of him are: al-La'ālī, 'l-Muḍī'a of Aḥmad ash-Sharafī and Rūḥ ar-Rūḥ of 'Isā b. Luṭf-Allāh.
 2. In the year 942 al-Muṭahhar b. Sharaf ad-Dīn besieged Aden after conquering Khanfar, Abyan and Laḥij, cf. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, Ghāyat al-Amānī, II, 681. This occupation was hindered by the Turks holding the Yaman and some parts of South Arabia. In 1007 the Prince ar-Raṣṣās of Banū Arḍ and the Yāfi'īs wrote letters to al-Qāsim expressing support for his cause and in the same year the Yāfi'īs besieged the fortress of al-Khalaqa built by Sinān Pāshā in 1004 when he occupied the region, cf. al-La'ālī, ff. 24b - 32b. In Yamanī sources the name Banū Arḍ is given to these people, however, Aḥmad b. Faḍl al-'Abdalī mentions that they were, also, known as Banyar, Hadiyyat az-Zaman, 105, n.1.

and its doctrines.³ There was no immediate answer from the Sultān to this invitation, nor did the Sayyids reply directly to al-Mu'ayyad. Instead, they wrote al-Jawfī in response to a personal letter which he had enclosed with those from the Imām in which he quoted the Qur'ānic verse: wa 'ndhir 'ashīr-ataka 'l-aqrabīn (26.214). They upbraided him for presuming to instruct descendants of the Prophet in the duties of their religion, but expressed sympathy for the stand which al-Mu'ayyad had taken against the Turkish occupation. In this, they said, he was following the military tradition of the Imām al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, but they preferred the pacifist attitude of al-Ḥasan and would not wish to bear responsibility for the shedding of Muslim blood.⁴

Another prominent and respected 'Alawī scholar, 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-'Aydarūs, who was a supporter of the Kathīrīs also received a letter from al-Mu'ayyad. This has not come down to us, but we have the answer given to it by al-'Aydarūs.⁵ In this he vigorously rejects the Imām's

3. al-Muṭahhar al-Jurmūzī, al-Jawhara, f.82a. al-Jawfī had been a supporter of the Turks, but he went over to the side of al-Mu'ayyad on 20 Rab. I 1036 (al-La'ālī', f.274b). In 1038 he led a conspiracy against al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim, the Commander-in-Chief of the Yamānī forces, but the plot was discovered and he was himself assassinated by the same poison he had intended for his victim. (Qit'a min Kitāb fī Ta'rīkh al-Yaman, f.54a).

4. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad ash-Sharafī, al-La'ālī' al-Muḍī'a, f.298b - 299b.

5. The letter is addressed to al-Mu'ayyad's brother al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim, who is given the title Imām. This is probably an error on the part of the copyist, for al-Ḥasan never claimed the Imāmate.

pretension to authority over all Muslims, and reminds him that he is but the leader of those who accepted him in his own region. He refutes the Zaydī doctrine and its Alawid basis and insists that the three orthodox Caliphs can be entitled to leadership of the Muslim community. To depart from this tradition would be to deny the validity of the very origins of the Islamic religion, and the true believers should therefore fight against the Zaydīs.⁶ al-Mu'ayyad responded to this by citing passages from Shi'ī 'Alawī writings which would support the premises of his own claim and insisted that it was the duty of every Muslim to follow the lead which he was giving.⁷

The Ḥaḍramawt was too distant from the Yaman to make invasion feasible at this time, so the conflict between the two regions remained polemical and recriminatory. The other peoples of South Arabia, and in particular those in the areas which were under Turkish occupation, were more responsive to the Zaydite appeals, and when the revolt broke out in the Yaman in 1036 many were prepared to lend them *their* support. For example Prince Sha'fal, (the ruler of Ḥālamīn on the south eastern border of the Yaman,) wrote to al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim from Khirfa in 1036, offering his submission.⁸ Prince 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad of Abyan and Khanfar, whose family had traditionally received payment from Aden to protect the

6. ash-Shillī, al-Mashra', II, pp. 224-226.

7. al-Jawhara, f. 82a.

8. al-Ḥa'ālī, f. 295b.

roads leading to the Yaman had his salary reduced by the governor of the Yaman, Ḥaydar Pāshā, who also demanded other services from him which the sources do not specify. Although it was very unusual for any South Arabian ruler to venture north into the Yaman, Ḥaydar Pāshā requested him to come to Ṣanʿā for a meeting. He went as far as Qaʿṭaba, but learning of the revolt in the Yaman, he became suspicious of the Pāshā's motives and returned to his own territories.⁹ Here he sought to remain neutral in the conflict, but after the Yamānī seized the region of Kawkabān on 7 Raj. 1036, he sent letters to al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim, the commander-in-chief in Ram. of the same year, professing his loyalty to the Imām and his devotion to the Zaydī doctrine.¹⁰

At this time the Turkish garrisons centred in Aden and Laḥij were relatively weak and unable to control effectively the territories for which they were responsible. Prince ʿAbd-al-Qādir collected the tribes of the region including the Yāfiʿīs led by the Imām's loyal adherent, Maʿūda b. al-ʿAfīf, for a revolt against the Turks. The Yāfiʿīs were particularly glad of an opportunity to hit back at their oppressors. An army was sent to the valley of Laḥij under the command of the Prince's son, Muḥammad, where siege was laid to the fortress of ar-Raʿārī, at that time the capital of the territory. After four days, the Turks were forced to capitulate, and a certain ʿAbd-Allāh Kurdī was sent out to negotiate the terms of surrender. What these were the

9. al-Jawhara, f. 83b-84a.

10. Ibid., 84a.

sources do not mention. 'Abd-al-Qādir now repaired here with another large army collected from the tribes, intending to proceed against Aden, but after fifteen days he decided against this move, fearing that his tribal followers might cause trouble in the area once the city fell. He, therefore, sent them back to their own territories. To show his good-will to the Yamanīs, 'Abd-al-Qādir despatched a letter to al-Ḥasan, asking him to send an emissary to him who could bear witness to his loyalty and to support him in occupying Aden; in response to which, on the 8th Shawwāl 1036, al-Ḥasan attached to his forces a body of troops under the command of Muḥammad b. Hādī al-Madābirī.¹¹

After these reverses, the Turks were in a desperate plight, and 'Abd-al-Qādir found no difficulty in conquering Aden before the arrival of these auxiliaries, with an army made up of his own tribes and the Yāfi'īs permanently attached to his court, under the command of his son Muḥammad. At the end of Ram. 1036 letters were sent to al-Ḥasan informing him that Laḥij and Aden had accepted submission to the Yamanīs and that only the fortress of Ṣīra was showing resistance.¹² When the troops sent by al-Ḥasan arrived in Dhū 'l-Qa'da of the same year and joined 'Abd-al-Qādir in Khanfar, he sent them on to Aden where they remained one month.¹³

11. al-La'ālī', f.293b.

12. al-La'ālī', f.296b.

13. al-La'ālī', f.299a.

'Abd-al-Qādir assumed full authority in Lahij and Aden, and seized the revenues. The lives of the Turks were spared, but they were expelled to the port city of al-Mukhā which still remained in their hands.¹⁴ In Dhū-'l-Ḥijja of 1036 the Turks tried to re-capture Aden but 'Abd-al-Qādir and his son repulsed their attack and forced them to return.¹⁵

The Yamanī expedition to Prince 'Abd-al-Qādir remained in Aden one month, after which it returned to the Prince's own territories where it stayed a further nine months. When it returned to the Yaman, bearing presents of horses, armour and money from the Prince to the Imām and his brother al-Ḥasan, the leader spoke of the loyalty of 'Abd-al-Qādir to the Zaydite cause and of the efforts he was making against the Turks. It was reported that he was only waiting the command of the Imām to launch an all-out attack on al-Mukhā.¹⁶

When al-Ḥasan was unsuccessfully besieging the Turks in the key fortress of Ta'iz in 1036, 'Abd-al-Qādir sent him two cannons;¹⁷ and by the year 1037 we find him totally subjected to the Yamanīs and exercising his authority in their name.¹⁸ al-Muṭahhar al-Jurmūzī (al-Jawhara, f.287a) considered him a Yamanī governor in South Arabia, and this position of subjection was marked by the annual tribute he

14. al-Jawhara, f.84a.

15. al-La'ālī', f.300a.

16. al-La'ālī', f.325b.

17. al-Jawhara, f.91a.

18. Qit'a min Kitāb fī Ta'rīkh al-Yaman, f.53a.

sent to al-Ḥasan. He, also, advised the latter on the conduct of military affairs, and this advice was usually accepted. In 1037 an English ship which put into Aden for supplies was seized by the Prince, its crew imprisoned, and twelve cannons with gunpowder and lead, (raṣāṣ) were confiscated. On Rab. I of this year he wrote to al-Ḥasan, asking instructions about what disposition he should make of the prisoners and the booty, but what reply he received has not come down to us. In this same letter he promised that he would attack the Turks in Ta'iz and that he had already summoned the tribes for this purpose.¹⁹

In 1037 al-Ḥasan inflicted a severe defeat on the Turks at Najd Qasam, liberating all but the cities of Ta'iz, Zabīd and al-Mukhā from their grasp.²⁰ Letters announcing this victory were sent to prominent individuals in the Yaman and the tribal chiefs of South Arabia, among the latter being Prince ar-Raṣṣāṣ, who under the influence of the Ṣūfīs had recently withdrawn his support from the Zaydīs. He had been receiving payment from both the Yamanīs and the Turks, but had lately tended to favour the latter, expecting them to remain in possession of the region. When this letter arrived, he refused to believe the news and actually imprisoned the messenger who brought it; however, when the victory was confirmed, he at once sought the pardon of

19. al-La'ālī', f.316b.

20. Ṣalāḥ b. Luṭf-Allāh, Rūḥ ar-Rūḥ, f.27b.

al-Ḥasan. The payments which he had been receiving were stopped for a while, but the Imām al-Mu'ayyad restored them.²¹

Prince 'Abd-al-Qādir remained loyal to the Zaydīs. In Rab. I 1037 he sent a letter to the Yaman promising that he would attack al-Mukhā,²² but he had not yet done so by Rab. I 1038 when al-Ḥasan himself started operations against the Turks ~~still~~ holding out here, and he confined his assistance to sending horses and "equipment for water" (ālāt al-mā').²³

In Rab. I 1040 Prince Aḥmad b. Sha'fal led a revolt along the western frontiers of South Arabia. The latter was also, hostile to Prince 'Abd-al-Qādir, the ally of the Yamanīs, and was in friendly correspondence with Qānṣūh Pāshā; he cut the roads between the Yaman and Aden and behaved as agent for the Turks among the South Arabian tribes.

al-Ḥasan, fearful that such disturbances might allow the Turks to re-establish themselves in the region and wishing to lend support to 'Abd-al-Qādir, launched an attack against Aḥmad b. Sha'fal from Qa'taba. Prince Aḥmad asked for help from the Yāfi'īs, and requested the Yamanī tribe of ar-Rabī'atayn to allow his forces to enter their territories where they could dominate the routes into South Arabia. Here he was attacked and defeated by al-Ḥasan's

21. al-Jawhara, f.97a. By the Sūfīs, al-Jurmūzī is referring to the descendants of Abū Bakr b. Sālim of 'Ināt.

22. al-La'ālī', f.317b.

23. al-Jawhara, f.97b.

lieutenant, al-Hādī b. 'Alī ash-Shāmī; accompanied by the Yāfi'īs, Aḥmad led his men to the mountainous region of Ḥarīr, but here, too, he was pursued by al-Ḥasan and suffered another defeat. His next refuge was in the Ḥujayl uplands, near the territories of the Yāfi'īs.

Prince Aḥmad's own brother, Ja'far b. Sha'fal, was sympathetic to the Zaydīs, and before leaving on his campaign Aḥmad had destroyed his house in Khirfa. Ja'far went in person with some loyal tribal leaders to al-Ḥasan to dissociate himself from his brother's actions, and the Yamanīs took advantage of this mission to proclaim their control over the Khirfa region. On his return Ja'far was accompanied by three Yamanī captains who in Jam. II 1040 left Khirfa to attack Aḥmad in the Ḥujayl mountains. The campaign was again led by al-Hādī b. 'Alī ash-Shāmī, and although Aḥmad was prepared to surrender on the condition that his life be spared, his proposals were rejected. Ja'far now joined the Yamanī troops and together they attacked Aḥmad, killing many of his followers in the first onslaughts. However, Aḥmad and his Yāfi'ī supporters rallied, and in the counter-attack which they launched the tribes supporting the Yamanīs were routed. The Yamanīs held their ground and gave a resolute resistance;²⁴ one of the leaders, a certain Muḥammad al-Muḥannadī was slain with all his seventy followers in an attempt to launch a surprise attack.²⁵

24. al-La'ālī', f.363b.

25. al-Jawhara, f.143b.

Ash-Shāmī returned to Khirfa to collect reinforcements for his army, but when he again returned to the pursuit of Prince Aḥmad he was no more successful than before. On the last Friday of Jam. II 1040, a battle took place at Hujayl mountain in which the Yamanīs were defeated, leaving behind twenty of their own dead and many were from their tribal supporting.²⁶ They retreated to Khirfa, pursued by the enemy, and finally were forced to return to the Yaman. al-Ḥasan could not himself lead another expedition here because he feared that in his absence the Turks might break out of the cities in which he had them confined; however, he designated troops from Ta'iz and al-Hujariyya to proceed here under the command of 'Abd-Allāh b. Munīf al-Jawfī.

Prince Aḥmad realized that his victories were only temporary and that he would not hold out against the sustained pressure of the Yamanīs. He, therefore, sent messages to the Imām al-Mu'ayyad asking his pardon and explaining the reasons for the resistance he had shown, saying that he was forced into it by the Yāfi'īs and his own people when their territories were invaded by the Yamanī troops. The Imām, worried that the Turks should turn their difficulties to their advantage, accepted this apology, even though he was suspicious of Aḥmad's intention and actually feared that, heady with his recent successes, he might

26. al-La'ālī', f.363b.

attack the Yaman itself.²⁷ He sent his letters guaranteeing his safety, and confirming him in the rule of his territories.²⁸

Unable to subdue Prince Aḥmad and the Yāfi'īs, the Yamanīs turned their attention to the Ḥaḍramawt. In 1040 or 1041 - the historian himself is doubtful of the exact date - the Imām al-Mu'ayyad sent a letter to Sulṭān 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Umar al-Kathīrī, explaining Zaydī doctrines and asking for his submission. This message was carried by a certain al-Bahhāl al-Asadī, who is described as being from the common people of the Yaman. The Sulṭān thought it wise to consult al-Ḥusayn b. Abū Bakr of 'Īnānt about the validity of the Zaydī claims before replying, and he sent this al-Bahhāl to 'Īnānt along with his own messenger. When the latter was delivered, al-Ḥusayn, in the presence of al-Bahhāl, upbraided al-Ḥasan and his brother al-Ḥusayn for the treatment they had visited upon the Turkish governors of the Yaman, Ḥaydar Pāshā and 'Ābidīn Pāshā.²⁹

27. On 14 Rajab 1040, the historian ash-Sharafī was present in the Yamanī city of Yafriṣ where the rumour arose that Prince Aḥmad was about to attack it. The local officials summoned troops from Ta'iz to meet the assault, and non-combatants were evacuated to the Ḥib mountains. The rumour proved to be false, as were several more such as in other parts of the Yaman. al-La'ālī, f.364b.

28. al-Jawhara, 143b.

29. al-Muṭahhar al-Jurmūzī, Sīrat al-Mutawakkil Ismā'īl b. al-Qāsim, f.21a.

The Yamānī claim was rejected by the Ḥaḍramīs at this time, and the fanatical historian of the Zaydī Imāms, al-Jurmūzī, attributes the rejection to superstitions reverence accorded to al-Ḥusayn b. Abū Bakr who, he says, possessed "musical instruments" (ālāt al-Malāhī)! The basis for this and other demanding accusations was apparently the reports al-Bahhāl brought back from his visit,³⁰ and they are repeated by him in his al-Jawhara (f.171a) where he refers to al-Ḥusayn as ash-Sharīf ash-Shaqī. This anger was further aggravated when al-Ḥusayn almost of all the Ḥaḍramīs approached by the Imām, made no reply to a letter addressed to him.

It was important for the Yamānīs that al-Ḥusayn be discredited, for his influence was great in South Arabia, and especially among the Yāfi'īs,³¹ and we have already seen the regard in which he was held by 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Umar al-Kathīrī. Al-Jurmūzī accused the latter of hostility

30. Ibid., f.21a.

31. This bond between the holy men of 'Īnānt and Yāfi' had existed since 992 when Abū Bakr b. Sālīm, the father of al-Ḥusayn, sent one of his disciples, 'Alī Harhara, here to preach and institute religious reforms. cf. Aḥmad al-'Abdalī, Hadiyyat az-Zaman, p. 108. Students came to 'Īnānt to study under al-Ḥusayn, and his advice was sought on various matters. His biographer, ash-Shillī, calls him the "Imām of the age"; and he was known for his vigorous attack on tobacco-smoking. Cf. al-Mashra', II, 92. Serjeant, The Sayyids of Ḥaḍramawt, p.17, speaking of the hawṭa of 'Īnāt, confuses its founder, Abū Bakr b. Sālīm 919-992, with his son al-Ḥusayn b. Abū Bakr (d. 1044) in connection with the disputes with the Zaydīs and the attack on smoking.

towards the ahl al-Bayt. Meaning, of course only the Zaydī Imāms, for al-Ḥusayn b. Abū Bakr, too, enjoyed this distinction and he received the most obsequious reverence from Sultān 'Abd-Allāh. He relates the story told by Ṣalāḥ b. Muqanna' al-As'adī who, during the siege of Ṣan'ā in Ram. 1036, was sent to Sultān 'Abd-Allāh in the Ḥaḍramawt with presents from the governor Ḥaydar Pāshā, al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim allowed him to pass through the siege lines, and gave him presents and letters from himself to be delivered to the Sultān. When Ṣalāḥ reached Sayūn (Say'ūn) and presented these gifts and messages, 'Abd-Allāh immediately put on the cloak which Ḥaydar Pāshā had sent and spoke in praise of his other presents, however, he ignored those from al-Ḥasan. He asked Ṣalāḥ what the Zaydīs wanted from him, and was informed that their chief object was a resumption of the trade with the Ḥaḍramawt which apparently had been in abeyance since the revolt in the Yaman. The mission was fruitless; al-Ḥasan's presents were distributed among the courtiers of the palace and held up to mocking, and Ṣalāḥ could only report the contempt in which the Zaydīs were held in the Ḥaḍramawt.³²

al-Jurmūzī adds to his charges against the Ḥaḍramīs that they were Ṣūfīs and Jabrīs. The fuqahā' were ash'arīs in their doctrine, but the masses were, for the most part, Jabrīs and hlūlī.³³ This, of course, is untrue, for in

32. Sīrat al-Mutawakkil Ismā'īl b. al-Qāsim, f.67a.

33. Ibid., f.20b.

fact the people of the Ḥaḍramawt were shāfi'ī sunnites at that time and have remained so down to the present day. Cities such as Tarīm are still centres of orthodox learning in the region.³⁴ The reason behind such accusations was the concern to provide a legitimate pretext for the Zaydī invasion into this region, and it should be stressed that al-Jurmūzī had no knowledge of these people other than what he had heard from al-Mu'ayyad's messengers. But it is noticeable that when anyone of Zaydī descent revolted against the Imām he refrains from attacking them on sectarian grounds.³⁵

34. 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād, the eminent Ḥaḍramī historian, tries to explain al-Jurmūzī's accusations as an honest misunderstanding. The ḥulūlī sect was widespread among the Yāfi'īs, and when messengers reported this presumption in 'Ināt in 1040 or 1041, the influence was made that all the people of this city were of the same persuasion. Janā 'sh-Shamārīkh, p. 44. The ḥulūlī doctrine is held to have been brought to South Arabia by 'Ali b. faḍl al-Qaramaṭī ash-Shī'ī (d. 303 a.h.) a Yamanī who travelled to 'Irāq to study and when he returned, settled in Yāfi' where he was venerated as a holy-man and teacher. He was, also, a military leader, and made raids into the Yaman and captured Ṣan'ā' in 299 a.h. His doctrine is presented in the hostile sources as a grotesque license for carnal excesses. cf. al-Janadī, Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa bī-'l-Yaman, ed. Ḥasan Sulaymān, pp. 155-170; Ṣāliḥ b. 'Ali al-Ḥāmid, Ta'rīkh Ḥaḍramawt, II, 282-292. When the Yāfi'īs abandoned the ḥulūlī heresy and returned to orthodoxy in the third century they formed a close relationship with the Ḥaḍramawt.

35. For example, when Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan revolted against his uncle, the Imām al-Mu'ayyad, and even attacked 'Utama where al-Jurmūzī was governor, all that is said of the incident is Wa-quḍiya 'l-amru bi-mā kana mim-mā sabaqa fī'ilmī 'l-Malik 'r-Raḥmān, accepting it as divinely

After the uprising of Prince Aḥmad b. Shaʿfal and the Yāfiʿīs, the Yamanīs maintained a careful watch along this frontier, where, also certain other people (ahl al-mashriq) had thrown in their lot with the Turks. It may be that these latter were actually the followers of the Prince or his allies, for when in 1041 certain letters from them to the Turkish authorities (al-ʿAjam) offering support fell into the hands of al-Ḥasan, he left for the eastern frontiers to launch an attack on South Arabia, in which he was assisted by the troops of his brothers, al-Ḥusayn and Ismāʿīl. The three armies joined forces in Dhamār, and in the face of their assault the South Arabians were obliged to sue for peace.³⁶ For the remainder of this year the Yamanīs were content to allow the local rulers to remain in authority, and even in 1042, when al-Ḥasan wished to occupy the frontier regions of Banū Ard and Yāfiʿ he was prevented from doing so by the Imām who feared that the Turks might take advantage of his armies' occupation in these parts to regain those regions of the Yaman from which they had been driven.³⁷

By this time the South Arabians had become very uneasy about Yamanī intentions for their region, and they availed themselves of every opportunity to halt the spread of their influence. In 1043, for example, when Aḥmad b. Muqbil, the

36. al-Jawhara, f.148a.

37. Qitʿa min Kitāb fī Taʾrīkh al-Yaman, f.55a.

Zaydī governor of Qa'ṭaba, revolted the local people lent him their support. The insurgents which included Prince Aḥmad b. Sha'fal, the Yāfi'īs, the people of the district of Ḥarīr, and the as-Saqālīd tribe, actually crossed into the Yaman, but the local Zaydī military commander 'Alī b. Shamsān succeeded in disassociating Prince Aḥmad and the as-Saqālīds from the alliance by promising to allow them to loot Qa'ṭaba. Aḥmad b. Muqbil was defeated and taken prisoner and his followers were sent to Dhamār where some of them were put to death. 'Alī b. Shamsān went in person to Khirfa to express his gratitude to Prince Aḥmad, and after having received an oath of loyalty to the Zaydīs, he returned to the Yaman.³⁸

In 1043, also the people of the Tihāma who were still under Turkish rule approached the Imām for support against their masters. Troops were sent here under the command of al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim arriving in Sha'bān 1043. The army is reported to have consisted of the improbable number of 40,000 soldiers, yet despite its size, a section of it under the command of Shams ad-Dīn b. Yaḥyā of Kawkabān was defeated at al-Muṣfiriyya on the 1st Shawwāl of the same year.³⁹ Encouraged by the news of this defeat, the Yāfi'īs, in co-operation with the Turks launched attacks into Yamanī territory in which action they received the moral support of al-Ḥusayn b. Abū Bakr of 'Īnāt. After they had assaulted

38. al-Jawhara, f.171a.

39. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim, Ghāyat al-Amānī, II, pp. 835-836.

Qa'ṭaba and laid waste its district, the Yamanīs, under the leadership of Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim, launched counter-attacks from Dhamār with the support of the Qā'ifa tribe, and the Yafi'īs were obliged to retreat to their own territories. Meanwhile, al-Ḥasan continued to harass the Turks in the Tihāma.⁴⁰

With the relentlessly growing power of the Yamanīs, the Turks found themselves confined to the Tihāma. In an attempt to restore their authority in another more distant region of the peninsula, Qānṣūh Pāshā, the last Turkish governor of the Yaman, made a compact with the Yāfi'īs to launch a joint sea and land attack on Aden. The island of Ṣīra, too, agreed to lend its support to the Turkish fleet, which left al-Mukhā in Ṣafar 1043. It consisted of one ship-of-war, three corvettes and various other small craft and was commanded by a certain Ibrāhīm Beg. The pretext offered for this movement of their fleet was that certain ships which left Aden for al-Mukhā were, instead, going to India and their purpose was to prevent this. However, this attempt to take the port was abortive, mainly because al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim received word of Turkish interventions and he informed Prince 'Abd al-Qādir, who at once left Khirfa and strengthened its defences. He, also, used his influence with the Yāf'īs in Aden who were favourable to the Zaydite cause, and in particular with Ma'ūda b. 'Afīf, to secure the neutrality of those other Yafi'īs who were

40. al-Jawhara, f.171a.

in alliance with the Turks. To this they responded, and the land-ward attack on the city never materialized.⁴¹

Concurrent with these events was the attack on the Turks in the Tihāma led by al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim which had as its objectives the cities of Zabīd and al-Mukhā. In response to this new danger, Qānṣūh Pāshā recalled the fleet from Aden, and resorted to other measures to secure this port. Thus, he secured the co-operation of the Kathīrī city of ash-Shiḥr, but apparently this yielded no results; nor did his efforts to re-enlist Yāfi'ī support. Al-Ḥusayn b. Abū Bakr of 'Īnāt issued orders that the Yāfi'īs should rally to the Turkish cause, and the Turks, for their part, sent a certain Ibrāhīm Efendī to the region with money to be distributed among their leaders.⁴²

The successes gained by the Yamanīs against the Turks did much to make the other rulers of South Arabia more favourably disposed towards the Zaydite cause. We find, therefore, Sultān 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Umar al-Kathīrī, who had previously been inspired by al-Ḥusayn b. Abū Bakr to resist Zaydī overtures,⁴³ writing a letter to the Imām al-Mu'ayyad on 24 Jam. II 1043 in which he uses the words: "We are

41. al-La'ālī', f.375a; Anon., Ta'rīkh Dawlat at-Turk, f.59a.

42. al-Jurmūzī, Sīrat al-Imām al-Mu'ayyad, vol. II, f.32a; Anon., Ta'rīkh Dawlat at-Turk, f.59a.

43. al-Ḥusayn b. Abū Bakr was now old and infirm, and indeed, he died the following year; cf. ash-Shillī, al-Mashra', II, 93.

friendly towards you, at one with you and related to you;" and in another place: "In truth, we have a natural liking for you, and we wholly subscribe to your way inwardly and outwardly." The only reason he has delayed in making this profession of friendship, he goes on to say, is that he feared the might of the Turks on land and on sea, as his ancestors had done. The present occupation of the Turks in other regions, gives him the opportunity to express his true feelings.⁴⁴ The Imām replied in a friendly and understanding vein, and explained that his propaganda in the Ḥaḍramawt was motivated solely by his fear of incurring sin if he did not seek to spread the true faith.⁴⁵

As a result of these friendly exchanges, the relations between the Yaman and the Ḥaḍramawt enter a new phase.⁴⁶ When Sulṭān ‘Abd-Allāh went on the Pilgrimage in 1044 and left his brother Badr in charge at home,⁴⁷ the latter, too,

44. al-La’ālī’, f.379b.

45. al-La’ālī’, ff.380a-384a; al-Jawhara, ff.16b-19a.

46. Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī, fī Janūb al-Jazīra, p. 123, denies that there was a period of friendship at this time between the Imām and the Kathīrī. However, he does not seem to have read either al-Jawhara or al-La’ālī’, and his opinion is based on the statements of al-Jurmūzī in his third history of the Zaydī Imāms (Sīrat al-Mutawakkil Ismā‘īl b. al-Qāsim, f.67a.), a work written twenty-four years after the death of Sulṭān ‘Abd-Allāh. In this work al-Jurmūzī deliberately falsified recent history in order to provide justification for the impending Zaydī invasion of the Ḥaḍramawt.

47. Cf. Appendix No. 1.

sought amicable relations with the Zaydīs and initiated a secret correspondence with the Imām. The terms of a letter from al-Mu'ayyad to him, dated 4 Ram. 1044, give the impression that he was regarded as being virtually a Zaydite governor with whom the Imām was well pleased.⁴⁸ When 'Abd-Allāh died in Mecca in 1045,⁴⁹ Badr ruled in complete independence, despite the fact that his brother's son Badr b. 'Abd-Allāh, might have a more traditional claim to the throne. In fact, his nephew did assert his right to the succession and entered into conspiracies against him, and it was said in response to this embracing the Zaydite doctrine.⁵⁰

The Yamanīs were encouraged by this new and favourable turn of events in the Ḥaḍramawt, and thought it opportune to press even further eastward to al-Marha. Al-Mu'ayyad wrote a letter to Sa'īd b. 'Amr, the Sultān of the tribe of al-Mahra, inviting him to submit to the Imāms of the ahl al-Bayt just as his ancestors had done, and he supports this latter statement by reference to certain Zaydī books of which he gives neither title nor description.⁵¹

48. al-Jawhara, f.19b.

49. 'Iqd al-Jawāhir, f.118a.

50. Muḥammad b. Hāshim, Ta'rīkh ad-Dawlat al-Kathiriyya, I, p.69.

51. al-Jawhara, f.20b.

CHAPTER II

THE CIVIL WAR IN THE YAMAN AFTER THE EXPULSION OF THE TURKS

The military leader of the Yamanīs who was most concerned with driving the Turks from the whole of the Yaman, was al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim, the brother of the Imām al-Mu'ayyad. His military career had begun when he was only fifteen years of age,¹ and during the reign of his father, the Imām al-Qāsim, he was already engaged in the struggle against the Turks in the Yaman. As has been seen, he was the directing force behind the revolt of 1036, and he continued in this role until the Turks were finally expelled in 1045.² During his life time, he enjoyed the confidence of both the Imām and the people, but after his death in 1048 disturbances broke out among the Zaydī leaders.

His brother, al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim, buried him in Dawrān and summoned the prominent men and military leaders of the region to have himself proclaimed his brother's successor.³ al-Ḥasan's eighteen year old son, Aḥmad, sought

1. Qit'a min Kitāb fī Ta'rīkh al-Yaman, f.46a.

2. Qanṣūh Pāshā, who was the last Turkish governor of the Yaman, had arrived here from Egypt in 1039; and, after his surrender on Rab. I, 1045, he departed again for Egypt. Serjeant, in his contribution on 'the Zaydīs' in Religion in the Middle East, II, Cambridge 1969, p.294, confused the Imām al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim (967-1029) with his son the Imām al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad in relating these events.

3. al-Jawhara, 222a.

to dispute this arrogation of power by his uncle, and he had his father's strong-boxes taken to the castle of Dhī-Marmar.⁴ The former supporters of al-Ḥasan refused to obey the orders of his brother unless they were approached by Aḥmad, and, feeling that he lacked support, al-Ḥusayn proposed to resign his position and return to his own territories in Dhī-Bahlān. However, the Imām al-Mu'ayyad urged him to remain in his position in Ḍawrān claiming that his age gave him precedence over Aḥmad, even though at this time he had not made the appointment official.⁵

Another older son of al-Ḥasan, Muḥammad, the governor of Ṣa'da, was on a visit to the Imām at Shahāra when the news of his father's illness reached them. The Imām advised to hurry to Ḍawrān and suggested what he should do in the event of al-Ḥasan's death, and this he took to be a more or less official appointment to the succession. While still on the road, he heard that his father had died, and he at once sent letters to the dignitaries of Ḍawrān announcing that he would shortly arrive as the Imām's official successor to al-Ḥasan. This was generally accepted, and on his arrival he was welcomed by his uncle al-Ḥusayn, his brother Aḥmad and the people of the city. Even though his uncle persisted in regarding himself as the governor, this was not recognized by the people, and edicts now required the signatures of all three pretenders to the office before

4. Ta'rīkh Dawlat at-Turk, f.66a.

5. al-Jawhara, f.222a.

they were accepted. This state of affairs lasted for about six months, during which time letters were arriving from the Imām recommending but not ordering that al-Ḥusayn be regarded as the governor. Aḥmad lost his patience and departed for Dhī-Marmar by way of Ṣan'ā; and in Rab. II, 1048 al-Ḥusayn, also, left Ḍawrān for Dhī-Bahlān, because he was unable to gain the support of the people.⁶

This left Muḥammad in exclusive control of his father's territories, and in 1049 at Dhamār he was recognized by al-Ḥasan's troops and supporters and he re-appointed the local chiefs and leaders to the offices of which they were in possession, establishing bureaux (Dīwān's) in each district.⁷ This appreciation of power worried the Imām, who foresaw him taking over the whole of the Yaman; so he now officially appointed al-Ḥusayn governor of these territories, and as this was an order from the Imām al-Ḥusayn could not refuse, even though he knew that he could not rely on popular support. On his arrival at the citadel of Ḍawrān he found 600 soldiers who were supporting one or another of his nephews, but these he was able to win over. A copy of the Imām's order was sent to Muḥammad to Ḍawrān, but here the troops refused to accept it and Muḥammad was placed in the embarrassing position of being unable to comply with the Imām's wishes without alienating his followers. He sought to escape

6. al-Jawhara, f.222b; al-La'ālī', f.400b.

7. Muḥammad al-Kibṣī, al-Laṭā'if, f.101b.

from this predicament by seeking a potent from the Imām as ruler of Dhamār, but when this was refused he and his brother Aḥmad began to resist orders from the central authority and a state of civil war ensued.⁸

Shortly before the death of al-Ḥasan, his secretary ‘Alī b. Shamsān had been appointed commander of the entire southern regions of the Yaman, stationed at Ta‘iz with his troops. He supported Muḥammad against al-Ḥusayn, and now each of these three was demanding that the revenues of the other provinces should be sent to him directly. al-Ḥusayn decided to attack ‘Alī, and he sent al-Muntaṣar al-Asadī to take Ta‘iz, with re-enforcements under the command of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad of al-‘Udayn. The battle was inconclusive, and both sides agreed to suspend hostilities until the dispute over who was the actual ruler of this region was made clear.⁹

It was Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, however, who emerged as the most energetic personality at this time. He insisted that individuals of Zaydite descent should have precedence in appointment to governorships of the regions of the Yaman, and in accord with this his uncle gave him the rule of Waṣāb.¹⁰ The province consists of two regions: lower was ruled by al-Muṭahhar al-Jurmūzī, the historian, who was the governor

8. al-Jawhara, ff.223b-225a.

9. Ibid., f.226a.

10. ‘Abd-Allāh b. ‘Alī, Ibn al-Wazīr, Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwā, f.7a.

of 'Utama; upper Waṣāb was governed by Muḥammad al-Kāshif, who supported the sons of al-Ḥasan against their uncle.

Aḥmad remained in Dawrān,¹¹ merely receiving the revenues from his province; but when these proved insufficient to meet his expenses, he surrendered his governorship.¹²

Thereupon, al-Ḥusayn ordered al-Jurmūzī no longer to send him the revenues, but to drive his supporters from Ans and incorporate the area into his own administration.

In compliance with these orders, al-Jurmūzī went to Ans, whereupon Muḥammad al-Kāshif requested Aḥmad to send his own governor to the lower Waṣāb and expel the governor appointed by al-Jurmūzī. When al-Ḥusayn was informed of this expropriation of power, he ordered al-Jurmūzī to drive Aḥmad's representative from the lower Waṣāb and, also, to attack Muḥammad al-Kāshif in his territories. The latter fortified himself in his home and reported the situation to Aḥmad, who at this time was in Dhamār with his troops. Aḥmad proceeded to Dawrān, but al-Jurmūzī had instructions from al-Ḥusayn not to engage in combat with him until the situation became clear. Even when the two opposing forces at Ram' and Aḥmad's troops opened fire, al-Jurmūzī did not give battle, preferring to await new instructions from al-Ḥusayn. These arrived with six hundred soldiers, and al-Jurmūzī was instructed to open warfare against Aḥmad.¹³

11. al-Jawhara, f.227a.

12. al-Laṭā'if, f.101a.

13. al-Jawhara, ff.227a-228b.

al-Ḥusayn himself came at the head of his troops to bring the situation to a definite outcome. A battle took place at al-Ḥawādībh on 27 Sha'b. 1049 in which Aḥmad was defeated; his camp was looted and he himself was forced to seek refuge in a village.¹⁴ Aḥmad's revolt was pardoned by his uncle as the act of a youth misled by false advisers, and in Shaw. 1049 he was sent to stay with the Imām at Shahāra. However, he did not remain here for long, and in Muḥ. 1050 he left to join his family at Dhī-Marmar near Ṣan'ā.¹⁵ al-Ḥusayn, and, in his person, the official government, was now left in complete control of a large section of the Yaman,¹⁶ and the situation remained unchanged until his death in Dhamār on 8 Ram. 1050.¹⁷ Now, the Imām himself assumed the political control of the region.¹⁸

During this time Prince Aḥmad remained in Dhī-Marmar with his family, living on an income provided by the Imām. This apparently was insufficient to meet his expenses, and he began to spend some of the money which he had seized from his father's treasury. This offended the Imām, who regarded this property either as belonging to the bayt al-māl, or as inheritance property to which Aḥmad was entitled

14. al-La'ālī', f.401a.

15. al-Laṭā'if, f.101b; al-Jawhara, f.233a.

16. al-Jawhara, f.235a.

17. Ṣalāḥ b. Luṭf-Allāh, Rūḥ ar-Rūḥ, f.35a.

18. al-Jawhara, f.251b.

to a share only, and not the whole.¹⁹ Faced with the need for additional income, Aḥmad sought the support of the tribe Khawlān in the north-east of the Yaman and that of the Yāfi'īs in South Arabia, in the expectation that, with such strong support behind him, the Imām would be forced to assign him a territory with revenues adequate for his needs. The spies of the Imām reported back Aḥmad's intrigues, and in order to quell any possible revolt, troops under the command of Muḥammad aḍ-Ḍā'inī were sent against him. When this force reached Banī 'l-Hārith, Aḥmad fled from Dhī-Marmar to the Allawz mountains where he was joined by his supporters from Khawlān, and from there to Miswar whose governor, al-Ḥusayn b. 'Izz ad-Dīn ash-Shāmī, associated himself with his cause. Although Aḥmad tried, also, to win over the people of Dhamār, he did not succeed and the most they were prepared to do was to mediate between himself and the Imām.²⁰

The Imām now sent his brother Ismā'il b. al-Qāsim, the governor of Ḍawrān, against Aḥmad. He began his campaign on 25 Rab. II, 1051 and, unable to confront him, Aḥmad fled to the people of al-Jamīma in Ans. Here supporters from the tribe of al-Ḥadā and other tribes joined him, and together they moved to Radā' on the eastern frontiers where he had been promised the support of the

19. Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwā, f.12a.

20. al-Jawhara, f.252a.

tribe of Qā'ifa by its chief, Muṣ'ab b. Aḥmad. However, when the troops of Ismā'īl and Aḥmad's brother Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan arrived on the scene and prepared to give battle, Muṣ'ab withdrew from his alliance with Aḥmad, fearing that his territory might be devastated by war. Thus betrayed, Aḥmad once again had to flee for safety by way of Marīṣ and Naqīl ash-Shaym to Qa'ṭaba where other of his supporters were located.²¹

Again Ismā'īl pursued, and at Naqīl ash-Shaym a battle took place in which the troops of Aḥmad were routed, and the government forces proceeded on to Qa'ṭaba. Aḥmad was compelled to leave the Yaman and seek refuge in South Arabia. He went first to Prince Aḥmad b. Sha'fal in Khirfa, but as the latter was anxious to maintain friendly relations with the Zaydī Imāms, he sent him to Prince Ḥusayn b. 'Abd-al-Qādir of Abyan. Here Aḥmad found a welcome and generous treatment. Although the military leaders of the Yamanīs did not wish to extend their lines of communication by making an attack on a place so remote from their own territories as Abyan, the Imām warned Prince Ḥusayn that if he did not expel Aḥmad, or, better, place him under arrest, he would prepare a campaign against him.

Aḥmad was worried lest Ḥusayn comply with the Imām's wishes, so his supporters in Abyan wrote to the Yāfi'īs asking that he be given refuge among them, while he himself

21. al-Jawhara, ff.252a-253b.

wrote to Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn of the Āl Bakr b. Sālīm family of 'Īnāt in the Ḥaḍramawt, who had influence among the Yāfi'īs. These requests were granted, and Aḥmad, without telling Prince Ḥusayn, departed for Masjid an-Nūr in Yāfi' territory, where he was well received. Prince ar-Raṣṣāṣ of the Banū Arḍ offered to let Aḥmad pasture horses on his lands.²²

These events on his eastern frontiers caused the Imām great concern, and some of the peoples in this region found that they could exploit this worry by demanding payment for their neutrality, while others found it an excuse for making raids into the Yaman. From Khawlān in the Yaman to Yāfi' in South Arabia tribal leaders received letters from the Imām urging them to support the Zaydī cause, while at the same time an army stationed at Radā' under the command of Sharaf ad-Dīn b. Muṭahhar. Another army under the command of Ismā'īl b. al-Qāsim was sent to Ta'iz to keep watch on Aḥmad and his followers. Under this pressure, the latter lost some of his support in the region: ar-Raṣṣāṣ agreed to remain neutral, and so did the tribes of Qā'ifa and Ḍabyān. Prince Aḥmad b. Sha'fal, too remained loyal to the Zaydīs, even though he was receiving a subsidy from the revenues of Aden. The Yāfi'īs, however, maintained allegiance to Aḥmad, and twenty thousand of them arrived at the Yamanī frontiers with him in Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1051

22. al-Jawhara, f.254a.

to attack Qa'ṭaba. Ismā'īl could not come from Ta'iz to meet this challenge with his full army, for he was doubtful about the loyalty of the troops. Instead, he sent two divisions under the command of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Qāsim and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim, who with the help of the local troops beat off the Yāfi'īs and obliged them to withdraw to their own territories around Masjid an-Nūr.²³

After this, the Imām wrote other letters to them, urging that they follow the teachings of Islām and respect the ahl al-Bayt as its proper exponents.²⁴

Aḥmad's supporters in the Yaman now came under attack from the Imām. One of his adherents, al-Ḥusayn b. 'Izz ad-Dīn, had his house demolished and his property confiscated; and when he fled to refuge in Khawlān, the Imām upbraided the people of the region for giving shelter to a rebel, whereas they had always formerly supported his house. He instructed them either to arrest Ḥusayn and send him to Shahāra, or else to expel him to the Yāfi'īs. In so doing the Imām probably wanted to have al-Ḥusayn far away from the Yaman; or, perhaps he wanted the Khawlān tribe to accept responsibility for asserting a rebel and, therefore, become a legitimate object for his retaliation.

al-Jurmūzī advised the Imām not to send these letters himself, but to entrust the matter to some other member of

23. al-Jawhara, f.254a-255a; Ta'rīkh Dawlat at-Turk, f.67b.

24. Sīrat al-Imām al-Mu'ayyad, vol. II, f.109a.

the government. He feared that the tribes in their region, having already renounced the cause of Aḥmad, would only use their compliance as an excuse for demanding money from the Imām. The latter, however, ignored this advice, and wrote letters to al-Ḥusayn and the chief of the Khawlān. The result was as al-Jurmūzī had foreseen: tribesmen flocked to Shahāra asking the Imām for money and clothing, and straining the finances of the government. Again al-Jurmūzī advised that the Imām should make it a condition of his support that al-Ḥusayn be handed over to him, but this the tribesmen proved unable to do and they withdrew to their own territories.²⁵

In 1052, the Imām again took action against Aḥmad's supporters, when he ordered Ḥasan b. al-Ḥājj al-Asadī to attack the castle of Dhī-Marmar, one of the Aḥmad's strongholds where his wife resided with much of his treasures. The siege lasted one year, before the garrison commander Agha Farḥān surrendered;²⁶ the seriousness with which this assault was pressed arose from the proximity of the castle to the hands of Khawlān who were always potential allies of Aḥmad. The negotiations for the surrender were made by Aḥmad's wife through her uncle, Nāṣir b. 'Abd-ar-Rabb of Kawkabān, and by the terms these of Aḥmad's slaves were allowed to leave in safety for Ṣan'ā. Aḥmad's property

25. al-Jawhara, f.264a.

26. Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwā, f.13b.

was to remain with the Imām pending his return to obedience; failing this it was to go to the treasury. The castle of Dhī-Marmar was demolished, for it was not desired that there should by any way fortified points in the region. The spies of the Imām kept close observation on Aḥmad in Yāfi', and anyone trying to make contact with him was either killed or severely punished.²⁷

The situation between the Imām and Aḥmad had reached stalemate. Again Nāṣir b. 'Abd-ar-Rabb appears as intermediary, asking the Imām's permission to discuss with Aḥmad the conditions on which he would return to the Yaman; he, also sent al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī as an emissary to expedite this. The Imām gave his assent, and nominated al-Ḥaymī to go to Yāfi' and try to persuade Aḥmad to return to the Yaman.²⁸ When Aḥmad agreed to return on the condition that the Imām pardon him, the latter readily agreed and ordered that there be public celebrations in Shahāra (Dū'l-Qa'da, 1052).²⁹

Aḥmad arrived, accompanied by about four hundred Yāfi'īs and followers of Prince ar-Raṣṣās, and was warmly welcomed by the Imām, who gave him lavish presents of clothes and horses, and assigned to him the revenues of Waṣāb. Orders were sent to Muḥammad al-Akwa', the governor of this province, to this effect.³⁰ Each of the

27. al-Jawhara, f.257b.

28. al-Laṭā'if, f.104b.

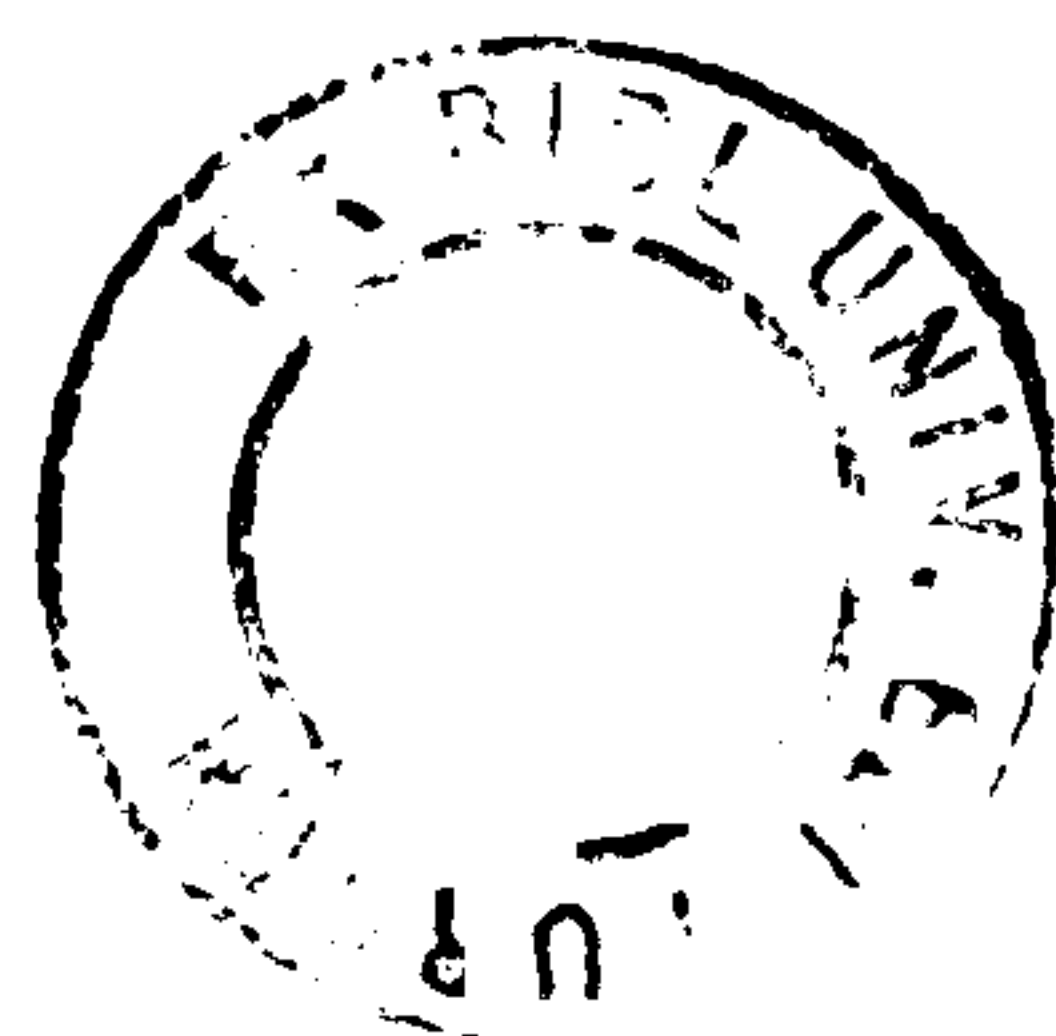
29. al-Jawhara, f.258a.

30. Ibid., f.258b.

Yāfi'īs was given a garment and five hurūfs, and their leaders doubled presents according to their rank. To the visitors this was for over two years a source of income, every month and, indeed, every week they would beseech money and gifts from the Imām. This occasioned the disapproval of the leading men of the Yaman, who saw the bayt al-māl being depleted by these unrelenting demands, with no benefit to the state. al-Jurmūzī, too, advised the Imām in this matter as he had done in the case of the Khawlānīs, but he urged that the Yāfi'īs should continue to receive their subsidies so long as they remained loyal, for it would be more expensive to send an army against them to compel them into obedience. To this the Imām agreed, and he ordered Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan to draw up a list of the Yāfi'īs who were in his retinue so that regular payments could be made to them.³¹

Another serious revolt against the Imām broke out in 1050 after the death of al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim, led by 'Alī b. Nāṣir b. Rājih of Ans. The father of the latter had supported the Imām al-Qāsim in his revolt against the Turks, but later he went over to the enemy and received grants of land from them. For some unknown reason he lost the confidence of the Turks, and his sons then gave their support to the Imām al-Mu'ayyad in the revolt which he led in 1036.

31. al-Jawhara, f.264b.



Many of them died in the struggle, leaving their brother 'Alī as leader of the tribe, and it was he whom al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim appointed governor of Ans. However, when he proved to be disloyal, al-Ḥasan proceeded against him taking his castle at Ḥirma Banī ar-Rawiyya and making him a prisoner.³² When al-Ḥasan died in 1048, 'Alī was so pleased that he slaughtered his horse over his tomb in thanksgiving, an action that so displeased the Imām who made him pay a fine to the Treasury. However, 'Alī was not without influence in the Yaman, and we find that al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim, acting on the advice of al-Jurmūzī, made presents to him and a robe, and returned to him the treasuries which al-Ḥasan had confiscated, hoping thereby?

'Alī once again became ruler in Ans, and he supported the government troops in suppressing the second revolt led by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan from Naqīl ash-Shaym. For some reasons not mentioned by the sources 'Alī withdrew his loyalty from the Imām after their campaign, probably feeling that while the government's forces were employed in other directions he would have his best opportunity for asserting his independence. His first act of sedition was to confiscate the entire revenues of his province, sending nothing to the Imām; and later he refused to assist in the campaign against Aḥmad in Qa'ṭaba.³³ When the tribes at 'Utama and

32. Sīrat al-Mu'ayyad, II, f.122a.

33. Ibid., f.122b.

Waṣāb revolted in protest against the oppression of the governor of Dawrān, al-Akwa',³⁴ 'Alī actually encouraged their insurrection and in Rab. I, 1052 he led his troops against these places.

The Imām sent an army against 'Alī under the command of 'Izz ad-Dīn Dishayla al-Ḥarrī, in order to persuade him to come to Shahāra and deliver the revenues of his province. 'Alī refused to allow 'Izz ad-Dīn to enter his territory, forcing him to return frustrated, and by way of answers to the Imām he attacked the garrison which had been left in the castle of Ḥirma Banī ar-Rawiyya by al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim. However, most of the garrison troops had already departed to defend 'Utama, so the castle fell easily to 'Alī. He sent letters announcing this victory to Rayma, 'Utama and Waṣāb, where among the general rejoicing at the news there were still many cautious minds who felt that the enterprise 'Alī had embarked upon was fraught with dangerous consequences.

Having left the castle in the hands of his own men, 'Alī withdrew to the region of Jabal ash-Sharq from where he began his attack on government positions. With the men of Rayma he raided the town of Mirbāḥ and stores of grain which were looted from here he distributed among the people, declaring that he was acting in support of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan and Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim. But he, also, admitted that

34. Tabaq al-Ḥalwā, f.13a.

his intention was to assist Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan against the Imām, and he urged the people to join him in this.³⁵

The Imām responded to this threat by sending an army under the command of Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. 'Āmir, who was joined by troops from Dawrān led by al-Ḥasan al-Akwa' and Dishayla, and some tribes of Ans who were hostile to 'Alī. Others who participated in the campaign were a group of volunteers from Dawrān and al-Manār led by 'Abd-Allāh b. al-Akwa', and Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Jamlūlī at the head of men from 'Utama district. These swarmed into the territories of 'Alī, and after several minor engagements he was entirely routed at al-Masjidayn and had to flee for refuge to the tribe of ad-Dawāmīr at Rayma. Ibrāhīm, acting on orders from the Imām, demolished the houses of the insurgents and sent the timbers to Ṣan'ā, destroyed the coffee-plant and confiscated the weapons and other property belonging to 'Alī. He then set off to Rayma in pursuit of the fugitive, but on his approach 'Alī fled to 'Utama, and to the protection of the al-Ḥadā tribe. Unable to trust his allies, he finally went to the Zaydī leader, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, and asked that he intercede with the Imām on his behalf. After he had been granted pardon for his revolt, he remained with Muḥammad until the latter's brother, Aḥmad, returned to the Yaman from Yāfi'

35. Sīrat al-Mu'ayyad, II, f.123b.

in 1053. Aḥmad used his influence to get permission for him to go to Shahāra, and there he remained until the Imām's death on 28 Rajab 1054.³⁶

When the Imām died, a new civil war broke out to contest the Imāmate, al-Mu'ayyad's brother, Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim, with the support of certain influential personages of Shahāra, assumed this dignity under the title al-Manṣūr bi-'llāh. Another brother, Ismā'īl b. al-Qāsim, the governor of Dawrān, also claimed the succession, assuming the title al-Mutawakkil 'alā 'llāh, and he, too, had the support of certain prominent individuals of that city. A third pretender appeared in the person of the religious leader, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Mu'ayyadī, who was there in Falal,³⁷ but he soon renounced this claim and threw his support to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, the ruler of Ibb.³⁸ Muḥammad, in turn, after having assumed the title of al-Ḥādī, also surrendered his pretensions in power of his uncle Ismā'īl,³⁹ and in reward for this support he was appointed by him military commander of the southern Yaman.⁴⁰ Aḥmad b.

36. Sīrat al-Mu'ayyad, II, ff.124b-126a.

37. Ta'rīkh Dawlat at-Turk, f.68b.

38. Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwā, f.17b.

39. Ṣalāḥ b. Luṭf-Allāh, Rūḥ ar-Rūḥ, f.35b.

40. Ibrāhīm b. Zayd al-Ḥijāfī, al-Kwākib az-Zuhriyya, f.59b, repeated from Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Abū 'r-Rijāl, Maṭla' al-Budūr (a copy of the latter is located in the Ambrosiana Library in Milan).

al-Ḥasan lent his support to his uncle Ismā'īl, and he, too, was sent to the southern Yaman to share the government of the region with his brother Muḥammad. In giving these preferments to his nephews, Ismā'īl sought to prevent such revolts as had taken place in the time of al-Mu'ayyad; and, in addition, he was able to gain the support of Prince Nāṣir b. 'Abd-ar-Rab, the chief at Kawkabān, and many of the leading men of the region, where his name was introduced into the khutba at the Friday prayers.⁴¹

In the war for the succession, Ismā'īl's supporters, including the brothers, Muḥammad and Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, defeated the followers of Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim and on the eve of the Feast of Ramaḍān 1054 the latter capitulated and was appointed governor of Ṣa'da by his brother.⁴² Unlike the Imām al-Mu'ayyad, who had spent his life in wars with the Turks and in suppressing revolts in his own territories, the new Imām held the whole of the Yaman in his grasp, and the circumstances were at last favourable for a concentrated effort against South Arabia.

41. 'Āmir b. 'Āmir, Bughyat al-Murīd, f.136a.

42. For the details of the fighting between the supporters of Ismā'īl and Aḥmad, cf. Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwā, ff.17a-19a; Ṣalāḥ b. Luṭf-Allāh, Rūḥ ar-Rūḥ, f.35b; Muḥammad al-Muḥibbī, Khulaṣat al-Athar, IV, 123.

CHAPTER III

THE ZAYDĪ INVASION OF SOUTH ARABIA

The idea of an invasion of South Arabia had for long been part of the Zaydī political programme; indeed, it was the logical extension of the revolt against the Turks in their own territories. Although the sources rarely allude to the economic factors which prompted the movement to expel the Turks from this region of Arabia, there can be little doubt that the control of the lucrative trade which passed through the port cities was a powerful motive. They were to seize control of such important ports as Aden, ash-Shiḥr and Ḍafār which had trading relations with the outside world, especially India; and the custom duties levied on this trade formed a significant part of the revenues of the Sulṭāns who held them. Moreover, the booty which could be taken from such places must have been strong motive for the campaigns, in particular as such spoils could be regarded as the legitimate property of the Imām, appropriated from peoples whose wrong beliefs allowed them to be regarded as infidels.¹

1. When Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, the general who had led the campaign into South Arabia, claimed the Imāmate in Jam. II, 1087, certain of the 'Ulamā' criticized the great wealth he had amassed from the spoils of war. He answered that the Imām al-Mutawakkil Ismā'īl had

(Contd.)

In the euphoria of his victory over the Turks in 1045, al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim, the commander-in-chief of the Yamanī armies, declared that he intended to expand northwards into 'Irāq and Egypt.² In the event, it was only in South Arabia that Zaydī arms met with any significant success, and much of this must be attributed to the fact that the region was divided up into small emirates, none of which was strong enough economically or in terms of manpower to resist a sustained and determined assault on their territories. Not being a seapower Yamanī expansion was possible only to the north or east, and to the north Turkish power in the Ḥijāz was too great to challenge. But expansion had become an inherent necessity for the Zaydī state, and it was only South Arabia that offered the conditions that made this possible.

The Imām's army for these invasions consisted of his usual Zaydī followers, and of conscripts from the

Contd.) authorized him to keep this property which he had taken from Laḥij and Abyan, and added, "This wealth which I enjoy was taken by me, and by the other mujāhidīs from Prince al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd-al-Qādir and his followers whom you consider 'āṭilī 'l-madhhab, defective in the practice of the religion, but whom I hold to be kuffār at-ta'wīl, infidels in the way they interpret the Qur'ān." Cf. Bughyat al-Murīd, ff.149b-150b.

2. al-Jawhara, f.207b.

provinces of the Yaman who were pressed into service under the divine command: al-amur bi-'l-ma'rūfi wa 'l-nahyu 'ani 'l-munkari, "An ordering of what is good, and the prohibition of what is reprehensible", to fight against the evil people of South Arabia. The provinces were, also, compelled to contribute money towards the campaigns and the Imām justified these exactions in a risāla in which he asserted that all the recognized 'Ulamā' were agreed that the people should be made to support the Jihād, whether they wished to do so or not. The Jihād is not merely against infidels, but against all who deviate from the Sharī'a and disobey the commands of the Imāms; and since it is the army that must proceed against them, contributions to its support must be regarded as part of the same duty, indeed, it is al-Jihād al-akbar.³

The Imām proclaimed the South Arabians to be Jabrīs, whose deviation from the true religion made them legitimate objects of attack and their lands "dār al-harb".⁴ He wrote a risāla on these Jabrīs and other

3. Zabāra, Nashr al-'Urf, II, p. 584.

4. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Jallāl, Risāla'ilā 'l-Mutawakkil Ismā'il, f.7a. The Imām's nephew, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, who led the invasion of South Arabia, considered the practices of the Shāfi'īs in their teaching and their rites to be deviations from the true observance of the religion, which should be corrected now that the Zaydīs had control of these regions. Cf. Bughyat al-Murīd, f.131a.

anthropomorphists, based mainly on the writings of the Zaydī 'ulamā' in which he accused them of being infidels because they believed in a state intermediary between kufr "unbelief" and īmān "faith". This being so, the property taken from them in war was legitimate booty and need not be returned; and the Imām himself was the sole judge as to whether their possessions should be declared booty for the troops or preserved under his authority. Their interpretation of the Qur'ān, too, unsound in respect of the arguments they drew these from in support of anthropomorphism. All the ahl al-Bayt (i.e. the Zaydīs) were agreed that those who attributed physical characteristics to God were infidels, and statements by the Imām Yaḥyā and the Imām al-Mu'ayyad bi-'llāh which would seem to be in contradiction to this position were opinions either later corrected by them or were misinterpretations. From all this, he allows himself the inference that all who supported Jabrī power or even accepted living under it were infidels as well.⁵

However, the prominent Zaydī scholar al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Jallāl (1014-1084) wrote a risāla criticizing the behaviour of the Imām. He complained that the

5. (The Imām) Ismā'īl b. al-Qāsim, al-Jawāb al-Mu'ayyad bi-'l-Burhān aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ, ff.116a-128b. Cf., also, Aḥmad b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Ḥanash, al-Ghuṣūn al-Mayyāsa, f42a. in connection of the treatment of the Jabrīs in war.

latter's governors had no authority to levy men and money from the provinces because the Imām himself was not universally recognized by all the people as their legitimate ruler. His second point of complaint was that to base the invasion of South Arabia on the pretext that its people were Jabrīs was illogical, for the teachings of Jabr were known only to a few learned men and the masses had no knowledge of it. The fact was that they were Muslims and it was prohibited by the tradition to attack them; should they resist the Imām's troops their fighting in defence of their homes could be regarded as Jihād, for they were Shāfi'īs who had no obligation to recognize the Zaydī Imām.⁶

6. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Jallāl, Risāla 'ilā 'l-Mutawakkil Ismā'īl, ff.2b-8b. He argues that all the early Imāms of the ahl al-Bayt had argued that the Jabrīs were not infidels, moreover, like the South Arabians, followed the Shāfi'ī madhab in the frū', also, accepted al-Ash'arī in the uṣūl, and Ash'arīs could not be regarded as infidels. This risāla by al-Jallāl was refuted by Aḥmad b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Ḥanash in his Hall al-Ishkāl wa-Dāmigh al-Ibtāl. Although a manuscript of this work has not been located there are references to it by two Yamanī historians. 'Āmir b. 'Āmir, Bughyat al-Murīd, f.87b, finds his refutation to be convincing, while Muḥsin b. Abū Ṭālib, ash-Shudhūr al-'Asjadiyya, f.17b, thinks he is not deeply informed on the matter. In the Ghuṣūn al-Mayyāsa, f.29b, Ibn Ḥanash himself expresses his opinions sanctioning the Imām's exaction of money from the people in order to defend the state.

His brother, Sayyid al-Hādī b. Ahmad al-Jallāl (d. 1079) also wrote a refutation of the Imām's risāla. He argued that in compelling people to support Jihād, the Imām resorted to qiyās on the opinions of the 'ulamā'. Without specific support from the Qur'ān or tradition, the property of a Muslim could not be taken against his will, and to do so was to regard him and his belongings as the property of the ruler. The Prophet did enjoin Jihād as an obligatory duty on the faithful, and later opinions on this matter could not be taken as authoritative. The expenses of preparing and maintaining an army, moreover, could not be interpreted as forming a part of Jihād; and the Qur'ānic verse: wa'a'iddū la-hum mā 'staṭa'tum min quwwatin wa min ribāṭi 'l-khayl (60.viii) was merely a prescription to the Ṣaḥāba to assure their effectiveness in battle, not an injunction to Jihād. All who could, and this includes the Imām, should be armed in defence of the faith, but to regard the Jund as the embodiment of this defence is to confuse the particular with the general for one's own purposes. It is the Imām's duty to clarify the Shari'a in its application to modern circumstances, not to distort it for his own purposes. Nor had he the right to proclaim fellow-Muslims who commit sin to be infidels, which is the arrogance of the Khārijite. God does not demand that he compel his subjects to follow him when they do not agree with the path he has taken; for, in fact, when the path is a just one the people will follow their own accord, as they did in the wars of

of the Imām al-Qāsim against the Turks. And, he points out, al-Qāsim did not recruit an army until after he had gained victory over his enemies.⁷

The Zaydīs faced, also, strong opposition in South Arabia from the influential family of the Sayyid Abū Bakr b. Sālim, the saint of ‘Īnāt in the Ḥaḍramawt,⁸ but, on the other hand, they found a staunch supporter for their expansions in Prince ‘Abd-al-Qādir b. Muḥammad of Abyan, of whom mention has already been made in Chapter I. In 1036 he had acted as an ally of the Zaydīs in his occupation of Laḥij and Aden, and the friendly relations between both sides lasted until his death in 1049, when he was succeeded by his son al-Ḥusayn.⁹ This friendship was impaired when the latter gave refuge

7. Zabāra, Nashr al-‘Urf, II, 585-588.

8. Abū Bakr b. Sālim (919-992) was the founder of the city of ‘Īnāt and he lies buried there. His biography is to be found in ash-Shillī al-Mashra‘ ar-Rawī, i, P. 26-29, as well as in his as-Sanā’ ‘l-Bāhir, ff. 232a-238a. He is mentioned as a poet in as-Saqqāf, Ta’rīkh ash-Shu‘arā’ ‘l-Ḥaḍramiyyīn, i, 162-171. Brockelman, GAL, S ii, 566, 908, ascribes to him only the Miftāḥ as-Sarā’ir wa Kanz adh-Dhakhā’ir, but to this should be added the Mi‘rāj al-Arwāḥ, a long treatise on taṣawwūf. His Miftāḥ as-Sarā’ir was published in Cairo, in 1385, in the introduction to which the editor, ‘Abd-Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Haddār, mentions certain works written about him.

9. al-Jawhara, f.232a.

to the rebel Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan; but when the Imām threatened al-Ḥusayn with reprisals if he continued to support Aḥmad, his attitude seems to have become more conciliatory, and Aḥmad departed for Yāfi¹⁰ in anger.

However, the Zaydīs were determined on an invasion of Abyan and, failing this pretext, they soon found another. In 1046 a Muslim prince of Mombassa had been forced to flee from his territories by the Christians, and he found refuge with ‘Abd-al-Qādir in Aden. He appears to have had some correspondence with the rulers of the Yaman, asking for their help in regaining his lands, but at this time the wars with the Turks made such a request impossible to grant. He went on pilgrimage to Mecca some time afterwards, and on his return journey, in 1049 or 1050, he died at al-Qunfudha. Prince al-Ḥusayn, thereupon, confiscated his property, killing many of his supporters and imprisoning the remainder. al-Mu’ayyad wrote letters to him demanding that the prisoners be released and that the wealth he had seized be restored, but his engagements in the Yaman at this time prevented him from taking any more direct action. When Ismā‘īl came to the throne he entered into a correspondence with al-Ḥusayn on this matter, and when he did not receive a satisfactory reply, he felt entitled to regard this as further evidence that the Prince was not observing the laws of Islām and that therefore, his lands should be invaded and annexed.¹⁰

10. al-Jurmūzī, Sīrat al-Mutawakkil Ismā‘īl, flā.

The campaign that was launched against Prince al-Husayn in 1055 was led by the Imām's nephew Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, who after his former rebellious behaviour had now regained the confidence of his uncle. It would appear that Aḥmad had always intended to take the lands of South Arabia and join them to the Yaman,¹¹ and in addition, he had the personal motive of seeking revenge for having been expelled from here by al-Husayn at the insistence of the Imām al-Mu'ayyad.¹² Aḥmad left Ibb on Ṣafar 1055 with an army of three thousand men, assisted by his brother Muḥammad. He crossed into South Arabia at an-Najd al-Aḥmar and al-Janad, and proceeded on to ad-Dimna in the land of as-Silmī; from here he went by way of al-A'mūr and the Wādī al-Ḥajor to Ḥā'it al-La'im.¹³ In his opposition to the invaders Prince al-Husayn was assisted by the Yāfi'īs and others designated simply as qawmun min al-mashriq. The first encounter took place at ar-Ra'ārī', the former capital of Lahij, and resulted in the defeat of a detachment of the Yamanī army, in which a great number of soldiers died. The historian 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Alī b. al-Wazīr (1079-1146) mentions that in his days there was a cemetery here called the Maqbarat

11. al-Laṭā'if, f.106a.

12. al-Jawhara, f.254a.

13. Sīrat al-Mutawakkil Ismā'il, f3a.

Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan.¹⁴

When the survivors of this battle joined Aḥmad at his encampment near Khanfar, he at once prepared a new attack against this city, on hearing of which Prince al-Ḥusayn fled, leaving his troops to offer resistance. After a fierce house-to-house battle, the Yamanīs won the day: over three hundred South Arabians were slain, the city was looted, and Aḥmad took possession of the residence of al-Ḥusayn, confiscating his property and placing his family and retainers in detention. Aḥmad next sent his lieutenant al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥājj Aḥmad al-Asadī against Aden, which was surrendered to him by its Yāfi'ī garrison.¹⁵

Prince al-Ḥusayn had gone to Yāfi' to ask for further assistance, but the region was too fearful of being attacked itself to be able to spare any of its man-power. Meanwhile, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan had sent reinforcements to his brother, and the town of Radā' was strengthened by a large garrison of the Yamanī troops under the command of 'Abd-Allāh b. Munīf al-Ḥamzī. The petty princes of the region, including Prince ar-Raṣṣāṣ, of Banū Arḍ, were intimidated against supporting Prince al-Ḥusayn, who was thereby isolated in his own territories.¹⁶

14. Ṭabaqat-Ḥalwā, f.20a.

15. S.M.I., f.3a.

16. S.M.I., f.3b.

Aḥmad remained for ten days at Khanfar, during which time he released the Mombassī prisoners and sent them to Ta'iz in the Yaman where they might live under the protection of the Imām. The family of al-Ḥusayn were sent to Laḥij under the leadership of his brother, Nāṣir b. 'Abd-al-Qādir, who it would appear had offered his submission to the invaders. Negotiations between al-Ḥusayn and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan led to the Prince being allowed to return to Khanfar and to retain possession of Abyan; both Aden and Laḥij, however, were to remain in the hands of the Yamanīs, only a portion of their revenues being shared with this former master. These arrangements being completed, Aḥmad returned to Ṣan'ā in triumph, with great booty.¹⁷

The next move towards expansion on the part of the Yamanīs did not come until 1061 when Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, the governor of the southern territories, demanded that the people of ash-Sha'īb in the region of Yāfi' pay a tribute to the Imām. During the reign of the Imām al-Mu'ayyad these Sha'ībīs had been compelled to hand over a portion of their revenues in taxes and to supply men to the Yamanī army, and for this their chiefs received certain payments and were allowed independence in the conduct of their own affairs. In the period between the

17. S.M.I., f.4a; Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwā, f.20a, Bughyat al-Murīd, f.85a.

death of al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim in 1048 and 1061 the Yamanīs were engaged elsewhere and this former arrangement seems to have lapsed, so that when Muḥammad now renewed the claims of the Imām the Shaʿībīs were not disposed to submit. An army two thousand strong was sent against them, destroying their lands and killing their fighting-men, and when it was realized that they could expect no help from the Yāfiʿīs or their other neighbours, they capitulated and agreed to accept a Zaydī governor to rule them.¹⁸

Some time later - the date is not specified in the manuscript, but it was probably before the end of 1063 - the Shaʿībīs revolted against their governor, but this was easily suppressed by the powerful armies which the Imām now had at his disposal. The revolt had to be put down vigorously, however, lest the other peoples in the region should be tempted towards the same behaviour. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan sent troops against them, and, also, directed ʿAlī b. al-Ḥādī al-Mihrābī, the governor of Taʿiz, to participate in the campaign. Before hostilities were opened, the latter delivered letters to the Shaʿībī leaders urging them to capitulate, but they refused to do so. When the Yamanīs attacked, they fled to the Yāfiʿīs asking for support, but in this, too, they were to be disappointed, for Yāfiʿ at that time was in no position

18. S.M.I., f.217b.

to defy the might of the Imām. 'Alī tried to induce them to return to their lands, but they refused because they anticipated that the strained relations between the two sides would certainly lead to friction; moreover, they hoped that when supplies of food ran short 'Alī would have to return to his own territories any way. On being refused, 'Alī began to devastate the land, destroying their homes and fortifications, and when the Sha'ībīs heard of this they hurried to Ibb and offered their submission to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. 'Alī discontinued his depredations and returned to Ta'iz, and the Sha'ībīs, in turn, were allowed a reduction in tribute until the damage which had been done to their property had been repaired.¹⁹

The next ruler of South Arabia to fall before the expansion of the Yamanīs was to be Prince al-Ḥusayn ar-Raṣṣāṣ of Banū Ard. Again a diplomatic approach was first attempted, and letters were sent inviting him to submit peacefully. Not only was this rejected,²⁰ but the Prince also refused to permit the Imām's troops to cross his lands when they wished to go to the Ḥaḍramawt to restore Badr b. 'Umar al-Kathirī to the leadership

19. S.M.I., f.217b; Muḥsin b. Abū Ṭālib, ash-Shudhūr al-'Asjadiyya, f.6b. The latter work places their capitulation in 1063.

20. S.M.I., f.22a.

from which he had been deposed by his nephew Bāb. 'Abd-
Allāh.²¹ The Imām next sent Sharaf ad-Dīn b. Muṭahhar,
the governor of Radā', along with Zayn b. Muṣ'ab and
Zāhir al-Hamadānī, both of whom were allies of Prince
al-Ḥusayn, to see if they could persuade him to change
his attitude, but this attempt, too, proved fruitless.²²
The Yamanī response was not immediate, for there was some
opposition amongst the Imām's advisers to an attack on
al-Ḥusayn, but after the matter had been deliberated
for about a year by the Imām, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan and
his brothers Aḥmad and al-Ḥusayn an invasion was decided
upon (1 Muh. 1065).²³

Thereupon, Muḥammad, accompanied by his brothers,
went to Dhamār where they were joined by troops from
Ṣan'ā and ^{contingents} from the tribes of Ḥāshid and Bakīl. In response
to appeals from the Imām many supporters flocked to him
in al-Ḥusayn, including a body of 500 men sent by Prince
an-Nāṣir of Kawkabān. The city was so overcrowded that
food and water became scarce, and the Imām had to supply
rations and open new markets for most of the new arrivals.²⁴
Muḥammad appears to have had misgivings about undertaking
such a campaign which was bound to prove costly in men and

21. Bughyat al-Murīd, f.85b. These events will be discussed
in detail in Chapter IV.

22. ash-Shudhūr, f.9b.

23. S.M.I., f.22b; Bughyat, f.85b. The date is given in
S.M.I., f.25b.

24. ash-Shudhūr, f.8b-9a; S.M.I., f.25b.

money, and would rather have tried to achieve their objectives by diplomatic means. However, the Imām was adamant that the invasion should be launched; and Muḥammad, who had been designated commander-in-chief, finally agreed on the condition that no one from the royal family should interfere with himself or Aḥmad, and that the revenues from the provinces be sent to Radā', the city on the eastern borders of the Yaman which was to serve as their headquarters. To all this the Imām agreed, and the invasion troops began to collect about Muḥammad in Dhamār, to the number of ten thousand men with many horses.²⁵

The campaign opened with the capture of one of Prince Ḥusayn's fortified cities near the Yamanī border, a certain az-Zahrā. The attack had been planned by Zayn b. Muṣ'ab al-Qā'ifī, the chief of the Qā'ifa tribe whose lands were near to those of the Prince, who feared that this city might be used as a stronghold for the followers and allies of ar-Raṣṣāṣ. With the help of a division of the Yamanī army led by Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad ad-Daylamī and Ḥusayn b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥaymī, an assault was launched on 29 Ṣafar 1065, but the soldiers of az-Zahrā were unable to put up much resistance and they fled, leaving the city to the invaders as their first success in the campaign.²⁶

25. ash-Shudhūr, f.8b; S.M.I., f.26a.

26. S.M.I., f.26b.

On the 1st of Rab. I, the Yamānī army under the command of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan and his brother Aḥmad left Dhamār for Radā'. Once arrived, Muḥammad sent troops under the command of 'Imād ad-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad to Qa'ṭaba, to defend the city and its region from possible attacks by the South Arabians, and in particular from Prince Aḥmad b. Sha'fal who was known to be hostile towards the Zaydīs.²⁷

Once again letters were sent to Prince Ḥusayn ar-Raṣṣās urging him to submit. Before replying to these, the Prince wrote to Sālīm b. Aḥmad of 'Ināt asking this spiritual leader of the Ḥaḍramawt what he should answer. He was advised to refuse these demands, and (according to al-Jurmūzī) he offered the Zaydīs to him as a "morsel" (ṭu'ma).²⁸ Ar-Raṣṣās then prepared to resist the threatened invasion, and he was supported by various tribes in the region,²⁹ forming an army of thirty thousand

27. S.M.I., f.26b; ash-Shudhūr, f.8b.

28. Bughyat, f.86a, repeated from an-Nūr al-Mushriq fī fath al-Mashriq of Aḥmad 'Abd-Allāh b. Ḥanash. This makes no mention of Sālīm; but al-Jurmūzī, S.M.I., f.26b, is quite explicit on his rôle in the affair. R.B. Serjeant, 'The Zaydīs', p. 294, seems to confine the conflict between the Zaydīs and the Āl Abū Bakr b. Sālīm Sayyids of 'Ināt to the Ḥaḍramawt, but the present instance shows that prestige of the latter was more wide spread.

29. The tribes mentioned as supporting him are those of "Bilād az-Zar', Dathīna, al-Maṣ'abayn, Āl-'Umar, Āl-Ḥusays, Āl-Jumayqān, Bilād Bayḥān, Bilād Banū Ghaylān, Bilād al-'Awāriḍ, al-Malalāḥim and (? Āl-Bayna)." He, also, was assisted by people of al-'Awlaqī and lower Yāfi'. Bughyat, f.86a.

centered about Najd as-Salaf, on the only road communicating the east and the west. He fortified this place, and made provision of food and money for the troops from al-Bayḍā'.

The next encounter between the two sides took place at the fortified town of Dhī-Karāsh which was being defended by Ṣāliḥ, the brother of Prince ar-Raṣṣāṣ. The victors of az-Zahrā, Ṣalāḥ b. Muḥammad ad-Daylamī and Zayn b. Muṣ'ab al-Qā'ifī, proceeded against this place and in the battle that ensued the defending forces were defeated, and Ṣāliḥ fled to his brother. Among the slain in this battle was a messenger from the Sayyid Sālim of 'Īnāt who had positioned himself at the head of the Prince's troops bearing a flag.³⁰

This victory was reported to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan at his headquarters in Radā'. Having now two footholds in South Arabia (az-Zahrā and Dhī-Karāsh), the Yamanīs were prepared to launch an all-out attack against the Prince, and, therefore, an army was sent there under the command of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, who had gained a good knowledge of the region during his previous sojourn. These troops, numbering four thousand foot soldiers and four hundred horsemen, left Radā' on 12 Rab. I, 1065 and proceeded by way of Khurays to az-Zahrā, where other Yamanī

30. S.M.I., f.27a; Bughyat, f.86b.

forces were concentrated, and from here to Dhī-Karāsh. First encounters with the supporters of Prince Ḥusayn convinced Aḥmad that he was not yet strong enough to engage the enemy, so after strengthening the garrison at Dhī-Karāsh he returned to az-Zahrā to await reinforcements.

When he next advanced into South Arabia, the army of Aḥmad consisted of ten thousand soldiers, supported by a thousand men from the tribes of Qā'ifa and Zabyān. Intimidated by such a large force, the peoples of the region offered their submission, and the chiefs of Banū Ghaylān and Banū 'l-Malāḥim of as-Sukūk, both of which lived near Najd as-Salaf, offered to supply information about the movements of Prince al-Ḥusayn.³¹ The Zāhirī tribesmen, too, asked the protection of the Yamanīs against the Prince, and a body of troops was sent to them under the command of Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Qāsimī.³²

On Thursday 4th Rab. II, 1065 the decisive battle which the Yamanīs desired took place to the west of Najd as-Salaf, and the outcome was a crushing victory for their armies. Prince Ḥusayn, who was deserted by his allies, Munasssar al-'Awlaqī and the tribes of Yāfi' when the tide of battle was seen to be going against him, fought bravely until he was finally slain and decapitated.

31. S.M.I., f.27b.

32. ash-Shudhūr, f.9b.

The women of the Prince's household were given horses by Munasssar and thereby enabled to escape, but the rest of the women in the camp were taken prisoners to be used as hostages in the future. It is reported that Qā'ifa and Zabyan, because of their special knowledge of the region, were able to profit most from the booty of South Arabian property which followed the battle.³³

After this victory, the Yamanīs proceeded to aṣ-Ṣallāla (between Najd as-Salaf and al-Bayḍā') which had already been captured by Sharaf ad-Dīn, and from here went on to al-Bayḍā'. Aḥmad sent the head of Prince ar-Raṣṣās to his brother Muḥammad in Radā', who in turn sent it to the Imām at Dawrān, where after being publicly displayed for a few days it was buried.³⁴

The Prince's brother, Ṣāliḥ, had escaped from the battle and was now sheltering in the mountainous district Ghubra, near Bayḥān. Seeking to propitiate him, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan sent him the members of his household who had been captured after the battle, and Ṣāliḥ responded by pleading that his life be spared and his lands returned to him, on which conditions he was prepared to offer his submission. After consulting with his brother Muḥammad

33. Circumstantial accounts of this engagement, mentioning the disposition of the troops and the individuals who figured prominently in the fighting, and to be found in ash-Shudhūr, f.10a; S.M.I., f.27b-28b; Tabaq al-Ḥalwā, f.29b.

34. ash-Shudhūr, f.11a; S.M.I., f.28b.

and the Imām, Aḥmad agreed to this, confident that in the conditions that now obtained he would be unable to present any serious menace to the Yamanīs. On 27 Rab. II, 1065, Ṣāliḥ came to al-Bayḍā', and negotiated the terms of his capitulation with the Zaydī commander al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan, and on 2 Jam. I, he was given back some of his looted property and allowed to return to his own lands.³⁵

The effects of this victory on the other peoples in South Arabia were immediate, and, with the exception of the Yāfi'īs, they hastened to offer their submission to the Imām. Thus we find coming to al-Bayḍā' in succession Munasssar b. Ṣāliḥ al-'Awlaqī of Dathīna, Prince Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid of al-Wāḥidī,³⁶ ash-Shaykh 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān al-'Amūdī, the governor of Daw'an, and the son of Prince Aḥmad al-Faḍlī, acting on behalf of his father. Letters of submission also arrived from the Sultān Badr b. 'Abd-Allāh al-Kathīrī of the Ḥaḍramawt, who had deposed his uncle Badr b. 'Umar, the supporter of the Imām in this region.³⁷

The Yāfi'īs were the next to suffer the attentions of the Yamanī army. They had held out against submitting earlier probably because they were influenced by the Āl

35. S.M.I., f.29a; ash-Shudhūr, f.12a.

36. Certain modern maps incorrectly show the name of this region as al-Wahīdī.

37. S.M.I., f.29b; ash-Shudhūr, f.11a.

Abū Bakr b. Sālīm of 'Īnāt, the rivals to the Zaydīs throughout South Arabia, and probably, too, because they relied on the inaccessibility of their mountainous situation. On 8th Jam. II, 1065, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn, accompanied by Sharaf ad-Dīn b. al-Muṭahhar led an army to al-Khalāqa from where the attack was to be launched. The people in the lowland cities put up no resistance to the overwhelming might of this force and made peaceful submission, but those in the mountain districts prepared to oppose the invaders and barricaded the roads leading to their lands. They also constructed fortifications in the al-'Urr mountain and garrisoned them with large numbers of men.³⁸

The Yāfi'īs reported the invasion of the Yamanīs to Sayyid Sālīm b. Aḥmad of 'Īnāt, and asked him to come from the Ḥaḍramawt to lead their defence. To this he agreed, and proceeding through the territories of Ibn 'Abd al-Māni', arrived at the city of Aḥwar. When the Yamanīs learned that Sālīm was on his way to Yāfi', Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan sent troops under the command of a certain Muḥammad b. Aḥmad to intercept him; however, before they reached Aḥwar, Sālīm returned to the Ḥaḍramawt, sending his son to the Yāfi'īs in his stead.³⁹

When this Yamanī force was sent eastward to apprehend Sālīm, the Yāfi'īs assumed that it was the

38. S.M.I., f.39b.

39. S.M.I., f.40a; ash-Shudhūr, f.12a.

entire enemy army that had moved out of their territories, so the barricades which they had established were left unmanned, and many of them descended from their refuges in the mountains. Here they soon discovered their error. On the 15th Jam. II 1065, the Yāfi'īs were attacked in al-Khalaqa, and when the city fell, the Yamanīs pressed into the mountains, crossing the barricaded roads and eventually reaching the city of Mafrāq, which was ruled by 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Alī Harhara. After the Yamanī force here was joined by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan and the troops who had been sent out in pursuit of Sālīm b. Aḥmad, Mafrāq fell. Certain Yāfi'īs now came to offer their submission, and eventually 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Alī, also, was forced to capitulate. He was the custodian of the property of the 'Ināt Sayyids in this region, all of which (lands, horses, corn, sheep and coffee) were confiscated by the Zaydīs.⁴⁰

The Yāfi'ī leaders were sent by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan to his brother Muḥammad as proof of their submission, and he, in turn, sent them to the Imām in Ḍawrān. Here they were cordially received and given presents, but before they returned home the Imām also cautioned them to carry out the mission of Islām in their lands.⁴¹ The

40. S.M.I., f.40b.

41. ash-Shudhūr, f.13b.

government of their province was given to Sharaf ad-Dīn b. Muṭahhar, and the latter's former governorship in the territories of Prince ar-Raṣṣāṣ were given to Muḥammad b. Jamīl.⁴²

The Yamanī army spent nineteen days at a place called Marfad (in the vicinity of Maḥraq), when because of the overcrowded conditions and the consequent high prices that were being charged in its markets Aḥmad was actually obliged to borrow money from merchants in order to pay his army. The move was to the fertile region of al-Jarī, near al-Khalaqa, and Aḥmad took advantage of his stay here to repair the castle in this city. After ten days, the army again moved to Dhī-Na'īm, near aṣ-Ṣallāla, and from here, on the 25th Raj. 1065, they went to az-Zahrā.

These moves were apparently made without the consent of the Imām, who now ordered Aḥmad to remain in az-Zahrā, and be on guard against a Yāfi'ī revolt. After a time, however, the conquered regions were felt to be secure under the rule of their governors and it was decided that the army could return to the Yaman. Moreover, Badr b. 'Abd-Allāh of the Ḥaḍramawt, whose deposition and imprisonment of his uncle Badr b. 'Umar had been the original reason for the Yamanī invasion, influenced by the victories gained over Prince ar-Raṣṣāṣ and the Yāfi'īs, sent letters

42. S.M.I., f.41a.

offering his submission and released his uncle from prison. Thus, the Yamanī troops moved homeward, reaching the city of Radā' on the 10th Sha'bān, where they were welcomed by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, their commander-in-chief. From here they went by way of Dhamār to Dawrān, and received the congratulations of the Imām on their recent victories.⁴³

The Imām proved to be over-confident in withdrawing his army so soon. Only one hundred Yamanī soldiers were left with Sharaf ad-Dīn b. Muṭahhar to maintain the Zaydī authority in Yāfi', which force he augmented with three hundred men recruited locally. Despite the weakness in manpower, Sharaf ad-Dīn did not try to prevent injustices and exactions made by his troops, and he himself sought to make the people pay compensation for the Yamanī lives that were lost in battle.⁴⁴ Thus, when harvest time came, the chief Mu'ūda b. al-'Afīf refused to allow the tax-collectors to enter his territory,⁴⁵ and in Dhū 'l-Ḥijja 1065 he appeared in open rebellion. Sharaf ad-Dīn proceeded against him, but on the way was deserted by all the Yāfi'īs who had promised him support and he found himself besieged and cut off from returning to his headquarters in al-Mawsita (12 Dhū 'l-Ḥijja).

43. S.M.I., f.42a; ash-Shudhūr, f.14b.

44. ash-Shudhūr, f.14b.

45. S.M.I., f.44a.

This was the signal for a general uprising of the people of Yāfi' and certain other regions of South Arabia,⁴⁶ and although a reconciliation between the two parts was negotiated by an individual called Muqīl b. 'Āmir al-Ghassānī, Sharaf ad-Dīn was obliged to leave the territory and seek shelter with al-Husayn b. 'Ab al-Qādir at Khanfar. Here he was given a horse and provisions to enable him to return to the Yaman,^{as} all his own belongings had been looted by the Yāfi'īs at Masjid an-Nūr.⁴⁷

When the news that his governor had been expelled from Yāfi' reached the Imām, fearful that this might provide a precedent and an example for the other regions under Yamanī occupation, he sent his son Muḥammad to al-Bayḍā' to forestall any possible revolt by Prince Ṣāliḥ ar-Raṣṣās.⁴⁸ From here Muḥammad proceeded to az-Zahrā in Yāfi' from where he planned to attack Mu'ūda b. al-

46. However, the Banū al-Maflahī, which had given refuge to the Yamanīs, as well as Prince Ṣāliḥ ar-Raṣṣās both remained loyal to the Zaydīs, and the latter wrote to the Yamanī governor of al-Bayḍā', Muḥammad b. 'Alī Jamīl, repudiating the actions of the Yāfi'īs.

S.M.I., f.44a.

47. ash-Shudhūr, f.14b.

48. A Yamanī caravan had been raided by the people of ar-Raṣṣās while crossing Najd as-Salaf, and there were, also, reports that the local tribesmen were assembling in this region, presumably to participate in an insurrection.

'Afīf. The Imām, also, sent his two nephews al-Ḥusayn and Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan to al-Khalaqa and Radā' respectively. The Yāfi'īs were intimidated by this show of strength and agreed to send tribute (Zakāt) to Radā', but when they were requested to bring it in person and to discuss their grievances with Aḥmad they refused. Once again they moved to open hostility, attacking the Yamanī garrison at Masjid an-Nūr and killing its governor.⁴⁹

On 1st Rab. I 1066, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl and Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan joined al-Ḥusayn at al-Khalaqa, and the combined forces proceeded to Masjid an-Nūr from where they intended to attack Ibn al-'Afīf and his ally an-Nākhībī, who were entrenched in the at-Tuffāḥ mountains. After a fierce battle the latter were defeated; Ma'ūda b. al-'Afīf managed to escape, but his territories were delivered up to five days of looting by the Yamanī soldiers. An-Nākhībī carried on the struggle for a few days longer, but in the end he recognized the hopelessness of the situation and surrendered on the condition that his life be spared.⁵⁰

Now left without allies, Ma'ūda b. al-'Afīf and his son Muḥammad, also, capitulated and had their lives spared, and at the same time, al-Far'a, the chief of

49. ash-Shudhūr, f.15b.

50. S.M.I., f.45a-46a; ash-Shudhūr, f.16a, Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwā, f.31b.

Dathīna, offered his submission. The Yāfi'ī rebel leaders were sent to the Imām, who gave the government of their territories to his nephew al-Ḥusayn. He in turn, appointed al-Ḥusayn b. Yaḥyā al-Mikhlāfī governor of Yāfi', and 'Alī b. Ṣāliḥ al-Jamlūlī governor of al-Bayḍā', with a garrison of four hundred soldiers.⁵¹

While the Zaydīs were engaged in Yāfi' they had constantly to be on guard against an attack on their rear by Prince Aḥmad b. Sha'fal who, although in receipt of certain revenues from the Imām, was known to be ready to take advantage of any and every opportunity to increase his power. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan invited him to come to Qa'ṭaba where they could arrange an alliance in the war against Yāfi', but instead of responding to this request, Ibn Sha'fal collected his own people and the tribes of al-Aj'ūd⁵² in the Ḥujayl mountain intending to attack the Zaydīs. He, also, entered into communication with the al-Ḥawāshib tribe (near Khanfar) and the people of aṣ-Ṣubayḥī, urging them to support him in his effort against the Yaman, and to this they agreed, cutting

51. S.M.I., f.46a. Aḥmad, about this time, confiscated certain properties of Ibn Harhara; and he ordered the people who had been supporting Ibn al-'Afīf to hand over their firearms and musical instruments!

52. The lands of the al-Aj'ūd tribe lay to the south west of the mountains of Yāfi'. Cf. 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād, 'Uqūd al-Almās, II, p. 81.

the roads to Lahij and Qa'taba. In these actions they were encouraged and abetted by Sālim b. Aḥmad of 'Īnāt, who wanted them to attack the Zaydīs at every vulnerable point.

In response to this new menace, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan ordered the governor of Aden, Amīr ad-Dīn b. Aḥmad al-'Ulufī to move to Lahij and maintain Yamanī authority in the region. However, he was immediately confronted with a revolt of the aṣ-Ṣubayḥī tribesmen. This was suppressed with some bloodshed, and the tribesmen again submitted to the Zaydīs. The Imām sent the qādī Muḥammad b. Ṣalāḥ al-Falakī to decide who had been the aggressors in this uprising, and passing his judgement according to their own Shafi'ī madhhab, he found them guilty and subjected to the death penalty. This judgement was carried out by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, and the property of the tribe was confiscated.⁵³

Worried by such insurrections, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan summoned Prince Aḥmad b. Sha'fal to present himself at Masjid an-Nūr, and after some protest and procrastination this was agreed to. Ibn Sha'fal intimidated by the threats of the Yamanīs, came with his three sons, and was welcomed by the Zaydī leader who, also, granted his request that the tribes of al-Ḥawāshib, al-Aj'ūd and aṣ-Ṣubayḥa should not be punished for their unsuccessful

53. ash-Shudhūr, f.16b.

attempts to revolt. From here he was sent to the Imām who, at this time, was in a place referred to in the text as al-Ḥuṣayn.⁵⁴

At the same time, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan had letters sent to all the other South Arabian princes demanding that they come to him and make their submission, and to this order they hastened to comply. They, too, were brought with the army to the Imām, and the occasion of their arrival was marked by an elaborated procession. Although most of these princes and chiefs were allowed to return to their territories, the Yāfi‘ī leaders Mu‘uḍa b. al-‘Afīf, ‘Abd-Allāh b. Harhara and an-Nākhibī were detained in the Yaman. Two of these (Ma‘ūḍa and an-Nākhibī) died a few days afterwards, the cause of the death not being stated in the sources. What makes the coincidence even more suspicious is that the brother of Ma‘ūḍa, who had been appointed to replace him, also, died within a short time.⁵⁵

One of the tribal leaders who had been allowed to return from the Yaman to his own territories was ‘Alī b. al-Haythamī from the region of Dathīna who, upon arriving here, proclaimed his revolt by attacking the market-place in this city. Attempts by the Yamanīs to persuade him

54. S.M.I., f.46b; ash-Shudhūr, f.16b.

55. S.M.I., f.47a.

to return to their allegiance were fruitless, and because of the impending campaign in the Ḥaḍramawt the Imām was forced to let the matter of his insubordination be ignored for the time being. However, in order that he should not cut the roads leading eastward, the Imām stationed troops at Dathīna, Dhūrwa and ash-Sharaf, and once victory had been won in the Ḥaḍramawt these garrison soldiers went on the offensive against al-Haythamī, raiding and looting the upper Naqīl of Dathīna (1st Ram. 1070). Al-Haythamī fled to the territories of Sulṭān Ḥaydara b. Faḍl al-Faḍlī where he was pursued by the Yamanīs and made to suffer serious losses: among those taken captive at this time was ‘Alī’s own family, who were held as hostages in the castle at Dathīna.⁵⁶

Ḥaydara, wishing to prevent further Yamanī incursions into his territories, offered his submission to the Zaydīs, but this was not acceptable to them so long as he continued to give refuge to al-Haythamī and another rebel chief, Muḥammad al-Far‘a. ‘Alī’s brother, Ṣāliḥ al-Haythamī, went to Sharaf ad-Dīn who was leading the Yamanī forces in the region and proposed that he be appointed leader of his tribe, asking, also, that his brother’s life be spared. When this proposal was referred to the Zaydī commanders in al-Bayḍā’, they would only

56. S.M.I., f.85b.

agree to accept it on the condition that he surrendered his brother to the Imām. At the conclusion of these negotiations, 'Alī al-Haythamī, al-Faḍlī and al-Far'a left South Arabia in Shawwāl to meet the Imām.⁵⁷

The Imām decided that 'Alī al-Haythamī and someone referred to as al-Jayyid should be detained in the Yaman, 'Alī being imprisoned in his own palace. After an unsuccessful attempt at escape, 'Alī was sent into the custody of Prince an-Nāṣir of Kawkabān where he is said to have been kept in chains.⁵⁸ This treatment of 'Alī al-Haythamī angered al-Faḍlī, who felt that the Imām had violated the safe-conduct under which they had gone to him, and in reprisal he attacked Dathīna and cut the roads between it and Aden.⁵⁹

The hostile acts provoked a response from al-Husayn b. al-Ḥasan, the governor of the eastern regions of the Yaman, who with an army collected from his own troops at Radā', from those of al-Bayḍā' and from the Yāfi'īs attacked al-Faḍlī at Naqīl Dathīna and devastated the region. In order to consolidate this victory, the Imām ordered Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan to proceed from Ṣan'a with another army and attacked al-Faḍlī in

57. Aḥmad al-Jindārī, al-Jāmi' al-Wajīz, f.145a; S.M.I., f.86a.

58. S.M.I., f.105.

59. Aḥmad 'Abd-Allāh b. Ḥanash, an-Nūr al-Mushriq fī Fath al-Mashriq, III, f.10a; S.M.I., f.105b.

his own territories.⁶⁰ The usual letters were exchanged between the two sides, the Zaydīs inviting al-Fadlī to come to Qa'ṭaba and offer his submission and the latter expressing his resolve to have nothing to do with the Imām so long as 'Alī al-Haythamī remained a prisoner, and when these produced no result, Aḥmad proceeded southward, accompanied by the troops of Prince Aḥmad b. Sha'fal. At Sinām they met with al-Husayn b. al-Hasan and conferred with him on the strategy of the campaign, but he does not seem to have accompanied them into the territories of the Sultān al-Fadlī when they attacked his capital of al-Jirba and forced him to flee with his followers. Many of his people were taken captive, their homes destroyed and their property looted, and Aḥmad's soldiers are said to have been well satisfied with the booty which was shared amongst them.⁶¹

Now a fugitive, Sultān al-Fadlī sought refuge in the neighbouring provinces of al-Wahidī and al-'Awlaqī; but these received ^{intimidating?} letters from Aḥmad, in response to which they arrested him and prepared to return him to the Yamanīs, requesting that his life be spared. However, while on his way to Aḥmad, he contrived to escape, and after being pursued throughout the territory

60. This army reached Dhamār on 22 Sha'bān 1071 on its way to South Arabia.

61. S.M.I., ff.105b-106b; an-Nūr al-Mushriq, III, f.13b.

by the Yamanīs, he finally surrendered himself to the Zaydī governor of Aden, Amīr ad-Dīn b. Aḥmad al-‘Ulufī.

When al-Faḍlī arrived at Aḥmad's camp, he found that two of the chiefs who had participated in his insurrection, Ṣāliḥ al-Haythamī and Aḥmad al-Jayyid, had already surrendered. Al-Faḍlī was sent to the Imām with **his companions**, ~~and~~, and all of them were thrown into prison. Aḥmad spared the lives of Ṣāliḥ al-Haythamī and Aḥmad al-Jayyid, but confiscated their property.

The history of al-Jurmūzī discontinues its detailed description of the events in South Arabia about this point, and we are left with only the most summary statement of its history in the other sources until the death of the Imām al-Mahdī in 1092. Between the years 1072-1074 Ṣāliḥ ar-Raṣṣāṣ of Banū Ard was in revolt;⁶² and insurrections by al-Jayyid in 1081 and the ‘Awlaqīs in 1084 are, also, recorded.⁶³ In 1091, the Yāfi‘īs, taking advantage of the troubles inside the Yaman revolted, and it was with this troubled situation in the southern territories that al-Mu‘ayyad Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl was confronted when he became Imām in 1092.⁶⁴

62. an-Nūr al-Mushriq, III, f.40a.

63. ash-Shudhūr, f.35a.

64. ash-Shudhūr, f.46b.

CHAPTER IV

THE YAMANĪ INVASIONS OF THE ḤAḌRAMAWT AND THE REGIONS OF THE EAST

When the Zaydīs had conquered those regions to the south and south-east of the Yaman which until recently were designated as the Western Protectorate of Aden, they were free to direct their attention to the provinces lying to their east. Already in the year 1065, the Sulṭān of al-Mahra, ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd, had sent letters to the Imām offering his submission, intimidated by the defeat which had been inflicted on Prince Ḥusayn ar-Raṣṣās and the Yāfi‘īs.¹ Zaydī influence had, also, firmly established itself in the Ḥaḍramawt, and mention has already been made in Chapter I of the submission of Sulṭān Badr B. ‘Umar al-Kathīrī when he succeeded his brother ‘Abd-Allāh b. ‘Umar in 1045. When al-Mutawakkil Ismā‘īl became Imām in 1054, the Sulṭān Badr renewed his allegiance; and later messengers sent by him in 1056 were apparently charged to solicit the assistance of the Yamanīs against his nephew Badr b. ‘Abd-Allāh, who was preparing to revolt. It would seem that he received the assistance he sought on this latter point, and when in 1057 his nephew's defiance became seriously menacing,

1. ash-Shudhūr, f.14a.

he introduced the name of the Imām into the khutba and put himself in the position of a Yamanī governor.² This gave rise to the suspicion that he had accepted the Zaydī doctrine and created discontent among people, most of whom now wanted to see him replaced by Badr b. ‘Abd-Allāh.³

Badr b. ‘Abd-Allāh, also, enjoyed the support of the elders of the Kathīrī clan and of the Ḥaḍramī sayyids, and encouraged by such a following, on 24 Rab. II, 1058 attacked his uncle's palace at Sayūn, taking both him and his son Muḥammad al-Mardūf prisoners and sending them in chains to Maryama.⁴ Once in power, he refused to submit to the Imām al-Mutawakkil, thereby gaining an immediate upsurge of popular support,⁵ and he released his brother Ja‘far, who was being held prisoner by his uncle in Tarīs, and appointed him governor of Zafār. A supporter of the deposed Sultān, Prince ‘Anbar, fled for refuge to the Yāfi‘īs where he was later to receive the protection of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn of ‘Ināt,

2. ash-Shudhūr, f.1b-3b. (The name of the Sultān is erroneously given here as Nāṣir b. ‘Umar).

3. Ibn Hāshim, Ta’rīkh, i, p. 69; ‘Iqd al-Jawāhir, f.133b.

4. At this time, Badr b. ‘Umar was arranging marriage contracts for his sons and daughters, and his nephew used the ruse that his party consisted of women coming for the occasion to induce the guards to open the gates of the porters. Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta’rīkh, p. 169.

5. S.M.I., f.67b.

while another prominent supporter, Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-'Afīf, was imprisoned until he would profess his submission. The slaves of Badr b. 'Umar, also, were induced to transfer their allegiance to the new Sulṭān who, having thus established his authority, transferred his uncle and his cousin to another prison at Tarīs at the beginning of Jam. II, 1058.⁶

Despite the efforts of the Imām to persuade the new Sulṭān to restore his uncle to power, nothing positive in this direction could be achieved so long as the Yamanīs were burdened with military commitments in South Arabia, so communication between the two sides remained polite but inconclusive. However, once the news of the victories gained by the Zaydīs in 1065 reached him, Badr b. 'Abd-Allāh realized that he himself ^{have to} would profess his loyalty to the house of the Imām and, on the insistence of the latter, released his uncle from prison and appointed him governor of Zafār. In 1065 he sent a delegation to the Yaman under the leadership of two prominent Ḥaḍramīs, Sayyid Aḥmad b. 'Abd-Allāh al-Jifrī and Aḥmad b. 'Alī Bā-'Abbād, with authority to deal with the Imām on his behalf. He explained his treatment of his uncle as being due to the harsh injustices he and his brothers suffered at the latter's hand, and he protested that in ~~deposing~~ him he was in no way motivated by hostility towards the Zaydīs, but that in fact, such

6. Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta'rīkh, p. 171.

imprisonment of relatives was common practice in the Kathīrī family.⁷

After this submission by Sulṭān Badr the Yamanīs began to intervene directly in the affairs of the Ḥaḍramawt, and it was inevitable that some occasion of hostility would arise. This came in 1065 when al-‘Amūdī, the Ḥaḍramī supporter of the Zaydīs who governed a portion of the valley of Daw‘an clashed with Sulṭān Badr over some local matter. A certain Ḥasan b. Hādī Baṭṭa was sent to arbitrate the dispute, but even after some compromise had been arrived at the Kathīrī Sulṭān continued complaining that al-‘Amūdī was trying to provoke him into disloyalty to the Imām by ~~ma~~ making outrageous demands on him.⁸

In 1067, the Imām sent the qādī al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī⁹ to the Ḥaḍramawt to observe the attitude of

7. S.M.I., ff.48a-54a. He mentioned, by way of example, that in Ṣafar 976 the Sulṭān Badr b. ‘Abd-Allāh (Abū Tuwayriq) was overthrown by his son ‘Abd-Allāh and kept in prison where he died in Sha‘bān 978.

8. S.M.I., f.54b. The Āl al-‘Amūdī had been in friendly relations with the Zaydīs since the first half of the 10th century.

9. He was a loyal Zaydī supporter, who was often chosen for missions of this kind. He had been sent by the Imām al-Mu‘ayyad to Yāfi‘ to persuade Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan to return to the Yaman, and in 1057 he had led the delegation sent by the Imām Ismā‘īl to Ethiopia at the request of the Emperor in order to instruct him Islām. This journey lasted eleven months, nine of which were spent in the Ethiopian capital of Gondar, and on his return al-Ḥaymī wrote an account of his experiences, which is included in S.M.I., ff.131a-150b. Cf. GAL,

Sulṭān Badr and to caution him to remain loyal.¹⁰ The pretext of al-Ḥaymī's visit was to assist in regularising the finances of the region, but apparently the real purpose was to impose formal treaty obligations on the Ḥaḍramīs. The qāḍī was instructed to receive the oath of loyalty (bay'a) and to proclaim the terms of the region's future relationship with the Zaydīs. This treaty ('ahd) is the first such document preserved to us showing the nature of the obligations that the Yamanīs sought to impose on their tributary territories, and because of its importance its provisions should be given in full.¹¹

1. He (Sulṭān Badr) was to take the oath of allegiance to the Imām.
2. The Imām's representative (al-Ḥaymī) would support the Sulṭān in the performance of his religious duties;
3. he would appoint people to give instruction in Islām;
4. he would act as judge in matters of dispute;
5. he would assist in the appointment of governors;
6. he would oversee the well-ordering of the society (al-amr bi-'l-ma'rūf wa 'nahyū 'ani 'l-munkar);
7. he would punish criminals;
8. he would abolish innovations;
9. he would preach of God, the Prophet and the ahl al-Bayt;
10. he would receive the taxes, and make the necessary expenditure from them.

10. ash-Shudhūr, f.18b.

11. The document is found in S.M.I., 57a, and in the [Majmū'at ar-Rasā'il], Ambrosiana, No. 189, f.187a.

Al-Ḥaymī arrived at Haynan on 17 Jam. I, 1067, and was well received by Sulṭān Badr. In his report to the Imām he commented on the generosity of treatment he had received, and confirmed that the 'ahd had been publicly proclaimed in Haynan and Sayūn. He added that the 'ulamā' of the region were devout and diligent in their religious duties, and that he had observed none of the innovations which had been rumoured to be practised here.¹² In Jam. II, 1067, the Sulṭān, too, wrote to the Imām, explaining his pleasure at the arrival of al-Ḥaymī and promising to comply with the instructions contained in the 'ahd.

Al-Ḥaymī's first task was to compose the differences between Badr and al-'Amūdī, and as a result of his efforts a five year truce was concluded.¹³ At the request of the Imām, the lives of Badr's brother, Ja'far, and others who had incurred his displeasure were spared. Sulṭān Badr's uncle, Badr b. 'Umar, the governor of Ḍafār, was at this time on bad terms with his nephew, and it would appear that he was trying to make military alliances with the Yāfi'īs and certain of the Kathīrīs in case he should be attacked. However, his own actions were such as to cause suspicion: his sons, 'Alī and Muḥammad, had gone to the territories of al-Mahrī, a supporter of the Imām and a rival to Sulṭān Badr. When reporting this

12. S.M.I., f.56a.

13. S.M.I., f.59b.

to the Imām, the latter protested his peaceful intentions and said that he had offered his uncle autonomy in Zafār, the harbours of which he would continue to use like any other foreigner if agreement on this could be reached; if not, he would use other ports. The Imām was left to decide what he should do.¹⁴ When the Zaydī authority had been firmly established in the Ḥaḍramawt and agreement had been reached about the payment of its revenues to the Imām, al-Ḥaymī was recalled to the Yaman where he arrived with a portion of the annual tribute of the region in horses and money, and other horses to be given as presents to the Imām and his nephews, Muḥammad, Aḥmad and al-Ḥusayn.¹⁵

Ja'far, the brother of Sultān Badr, had been replaced on command of the Imām as governor of the wealthy province of Zafār by his uncle Badr b. 'Umar, and his brother, worried about his depleted revenues, pretended that he was unable to appoint him to any other province.

14. S.M.I., ff.60a-61a.

15. S.M.I., f.62a. The money which al-Ḥaymī brought seems to have been three months revenue from the customs duties of ash-Shiḥr and the levy on the Bānyān (Indians), and it amounted to 200 qarish (qurūsh), 300 ḥarf and 15 coins of red gold (aḥmar). The Sultān reported that the Imām's share of the Bānyān revenues for the year 1067 was 850 qarish. According to 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād, 'Uqūd al-Almās, ii, 7, the ḥarf was a Yamani coin worth less than a dirham, but the coin mentioned here seems to have been more valuable.

Ja'far went to the Yaman to seek the intervention of the Imām, but he did not succeed in attaining his object. Realizing that he could expect nothing from this quarter, he gave the Imām a pledge of his loyalty to both himself and to Sulṭān Badr, and returned to the Ḥaḍramawt and allied himself with his brother. Their uncle, Badr b. 'Umar, interpreted this resumption of friendly relations between his two nephews as a threat to himself, and in order to forestall any attack they might make on his territories, he sent his sons by sea to the Yaman to solicit the assistance of the Imām. His fears proved to be justified,¹⁶ for in 1068 Ja'far, on the pretence of going to India,¹⁷ entered Ḥafār at the head of an army and inflicted a defeat on its troops, killing his cousin in battle and forcing his uncle to flee to the Bedouins for refuge. Badr b. 'Umar made his way to Aden, from where he was sent by the Zaydī governor, Amīr ad-Dīn Ahmad al 'Ulufī, to the Imām at al-Ḥuṣayn in the Yaman. The latter gave him a warm welcome, and wrote to Sulṭān Badr that he regarded this attack on Ḥafār as a personal affront. The Sulṭān protested that he was not in any way involved in this affair and he repudiated the action of his brother.¹⁸

16. S.M.I., f.68a. He had failed to win the support of the other Kathīrī tribes.

17. ash-Shudhūr, f.20a.

18. S.M.I., ff.68b-69b. Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī, Ta'rīkh Ḥaḍramawt as-Siyāsī, i, 104, is incorrect in saying that it was Sulṭān Badr who attacked Ḥafār.

The Imām regarded the equivocal behaviour of Sultān Badr in this matter as an indication of disloyalty to the Zaydīs, so in Jam. II 1069 he decided to invade his territories and asked for volunteers to join his army.¹⁹ A local rival to Sultān Badr, ‘Abd-ar-Rahmān al-Amūdī of Daw‘an, promised his support to the Yamānī forces when they arrived in the Ḥadramawt.²⁰ The army was to be under the command of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, but while he was still at al-Ghirās a messenger named Muḥammad b. Shaybān arrived, bringing a letter from Sultān Badr informing him not to invade his territories. Aḥmad was not prepared to listen to these appeals,²¹ and on 18 Shaw. 1069 he left al-Ghirās with his army and marched to as-Sār. Here he was joined by the troops of his brother al-Ḥusayn, and together they proceeded to al-Marbak in the region of Jabal al-Lawz. When it reached al-‘Arūsh, Aḥmad left his son Muḥammad in command of the army, and along with his brother al-Ḥusayn returned to ad-Dāmigh to confer with the Imām about what route should be followed for the invasion. This matter being settled, they returned to al-‘Arūsh, and with the army advanced by way of Wadbad, Bayram al-Ḥusayn in the valley of Khubāb, al-Kharja at the foot of the mountain of Ghaylān in the region of al-Hayyāl, Maṭraḥ Muḥammad

19. ash-Shudhūr, f.20a.

20. ‘Iqd al-Jawāhir, f.194b.

21. S.M.I., f.70a.

b. Arshad, and al-Aḥruf. Here they found no water and had to dig wells, and the heat was so intense that when they reached Ṣirwāḥ twenty of their horses died.

At Ḥātim in the valley of Raghwān they remained six weeks, and during this period the feast of Dhū'l, Ḥijja was celebrated. Here, too, they received delegations from the local tribes who provided them with provisions and animal fodder. Amongst those mentioned as arriving at this time were the chiefs of upper Khawlān, the chiefs and the Ashrāf of al-Jawf, and the heads of the tribes of al-Mu'adda and al-Muṣ'abayn. From here, too, Aḥmad wrote to Sulṭān Badr inviting him to capitulate, for it was obvious that the physical difficulties of moving an army into the Ḥaḍramawt were going to be greater than had been envisaged. However, the reply to this was not favourable, and the invasion was continued, the army moving to al-Hajla in the valley of Abrād, and thence to Darb Sabā'. Here it was joined by men of al-Ma'adda, by the people of Ṭālib b. al-Ḥusayn and by others from Raghwān.

The army now split into two, half under the command of Aḥmad going by way of al-Balq, and half under the command of al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan by way of Ḥarsha Murād, joining up later at Najd al-Malh. From here the whole army proceeded to Ḥirmat al-Maṣ'abayn, and after resting for three days pressed on to Bayḥān, where a portion of the army, including al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan, were stricken

with illness. He actually had to leave the army to *go to* Radā' to recuperate.

After eighteen days had elapsed, the troops moved again, crossing the territories of Prince Ṣāliḥ ar-Raṣṣās, to Bi'r Malḥa in Markha and thence to Nāb, where they remained fifteen days. Ṣāliḥ had supplied the army with nine hundred sheep and ^a large quantity of wheat. Prince Munasssar al-'Awlaqī crossed the lands of ar-Raṣṣās to join Aḥmad, but he was asked to return to his own territories because of the hostility existing between him and Ṣāliḥ. The army now moved on to Wāṣiṭ in the al-'Awlaqī region.²²

While the army was on the move, the Imām was engaged in correspondence with Sulṭān Badr, as a result of which the latter agreed to launch an attack on his brother Ja'far in Zafār. However, he did not receive the support of the Kathīrīs for this plan, because they were afraid to leave their lands without fighting men when the Yamanī army was approaching, and consequently Badr had to break his promise to the Imām. He sent a messenger to the latter suggesting that the Zaydī army should return to the Yaman and that he would pay the expenses that had been incurred in its passage as far as Wāṣiṭ. The Imām's response was to send reinforcements to the troops already in Wāṣiṭ. The first contingent of 3000 foot and 150 horses

22. The route followed in this campaign is given in detail here because of the light it may shed on the historical geography of the region.

which were dispatched on Rab. II, 1070, only went as far as al-Bayḍā' where they had to be diverted to repress a revolt in the area led by 'Alī al-Haythamī and Aḥmad al-Faḍlī.²³ However, these were replaced by other troops, and by the time Aḥmad's army had moved from Wāṣiṭ to Mayfa'a, it had been strengthened by 1000 men from Kawkabān, another 1000 from al-Ḥayma, and 500 from the garrison of Radā' al-'Arsh.

While Aḥmad was still at Wāṣiṭ, Muḥammad b. Shaybān tried to halt the advance of the Yamanīs into the Ḥaḍramawt by requesting that Zaydī emissaries be sent to Sulṭān Badr b. 'Abd-Allāh to try to reach some negotiated settlement. To this Aḥmad agreed, sending 'Alī b. Ḥusayn ash-Shuwayya' at the head of a delegation; but when twenty days had passed and no agreement was yet in sight, he moved from Wāṣiṭ to Anṣāb²⁴ in the region of al-'Awlaqī, from where he moved after a month to Bi'r Ḥalīma. Here he was generously received by Sulṭān Munasssar al-'Awlaqī, but the latter refused to comply with Aḥmad's request that he should have the phrase ḥayyā 'alā khayri 'l-'amal introduced into the call to prayer, this being the point on which the Zaydīs differed from the Sunnīs in this matter. From here the army entered the region of al-Wāḥidī, remaining

23. S.M.I., ff.70b-71b.

24. So the name appears in S.M.I., 72b; modern maps show it as an-Niṣāb, and in local pronunciation it becomes Niṣāb.

for three days at Ḥabbān before proceeding on to Mayfa'a, where they rested for one month and replenished their supplies.²⁵

While at Ḥabbān, Aḥmad had sent a body of men to the market town of Aḥwar in the south to buy grain, and when these returned safely to Mayfa'a another group of 13 men and 20 foot-soldiers were sent there for the same purpose. This second party, however, was attacked by the tribesmen after they had made their purchases and were preparing to leave, losing their leader, six horsemen and all their horses in the battle. The Zaydīs accused Sulṭān al-ʿAwlaqī of pretending friendship to them while secretly being in the pay of the Sulṭān of the Ḥaḍramawt, and he and his brother ʿIzz ad-Dīn were suspected of creating obstacles to the progress of the Yamanī army. Nevertheless, ʿIzz ad-Dīn had been killed by the people of Aḥwar at this time because he was suspected of favouring the invaders.

The survivors of this party had secured themselves in certain houses, and managed to hold out until a relief force under the command of ʿAlī al-Ḥubrī which had been sent by Aḥmad reached Aḥwar and delivered them. He subjugated the people of the city with as much moderation as was possible, and after fifteen days he set out to return to Aḥmad with a caravan of fifty laden camels.

25. S.M.I., 72a-73a.

However, on the way he became uneasy about the loyalty of the South Arabian tribesmen whose camels and services he had hired; and even after he had agreed to pay them more than had been originally agreed, he felt that they would turn on him and loot the caravan. Therefore, upon reaching al-Jūn he sought the protection of Ibn 'Abd-al-Māni' a local holyman whom the tribesmen greatly venerated. Here he remained forty days, during which time Ibn 'Abd-al-Māni' resisted the demands of the tribesmen that the Zaydīs be expelled from the city. He was only able to leave here after Aḥmad had won a victory over the Kathīrī Sultān in the Ḥaḍramawt, and the tribes of the area came to realize the possibility of his retaliation against themselves if they continued to harass his supply party any further.²⁶

Aḥmad had remained one month in Mayfa'a, awaiting the return of his messenger he had sent to Sultān al-Kathīrī in Sayūn with an invitation from him to come and discuss with himself the problems that had arisen between them. Al-Kathīrī refused to come in person, but instead proposed that his son and brother Ḥasan should act on his behalf in the negotiations, and in addition, as a token of his good faith, he offered the castles of 'Amd and Aḥwar as pledges. The Sultān

26. S.M.I., 73a.

behaved with this circumspection because he feared the possibility of a Yamānī invasion of his lands once he was absent. Aḥmad refused to compromise, and he instructed his messenger that if the Sulṭān persisted in his refusal to come to him, he was to leave the region. Suspicious of the cunning of al-Kathīrī, the messenger and his companions thought it wisest not to persist any longer in an attempt to persuade him to agree; so they returned to Aḥmad accompanied by Muḥammad b. Shaybān in Rab. II. 1070.²⁷

In spite of the difficulties he had already experienced, Aḥmad now decided to proceed towards the Ḥaḍramawt. The first place they reached after leaving Mayfa'a was aṣ-Ṣarra, where they remained eight days, unable to continue for a time because so many of the camels had died. From here they went by the mountain route of Mudallāh to as-Saṭṭāra, where they were met by al-'Amūdī, the Zaydī supporter in the Ḥaḍramawt,²⁸ who supplied them with food and camels. He also instructed his tribesmen to come here, bringing whatever goods they had for sale. After resting here for fourteen days, the army set out for the valley of Yib'ith,

27. S.M.I., 75a.

28. Al-Jurmūzī gives him the name Muḥammad, but in the Ta'rīkh of Muḥammad b. Ḥāshim (I. p.72) his name is said to be 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. 'Abd-Allāh. The latter is possibly the correct one, for the author drew on Ḥaḍramī sources while al-Jurmūzī is, of course, a Yamanite.

where again they were given supplies by al-‘Amūdī, despite which there was still a serious shortage of food. Crossing the valley of Ḥajr, where the hungry soldiers had to eat the flesh of donkeys, they came to Rayda Bā-Masdūs. The governor of the region came with two hundred followers to offer submission, and as the region formed part of the territories of the Sulṭān al-Kathīrī, Aḥmad confiscated the crops and distributed them among his half-starved troops.²⁹

After resting at Rayda Bā-Masdūs for fifteen days, the Yamanīs went on to al-Qafr expecting to engage in battle with the Sulṭān. But the latter did not appear, so the march continued down the mountain road of Bā-‘Aqaba to Jidfra Bayḍān, and from here to Ḍamīr-‘Ushayr. The people of al-Hajrayn now heard of the impending approach of the Yamanīs and were greatly alarmed.³⁰

Sulṭān Badr b. ‘Abd-Allāh al-Kathīrī was very wealthy,³¹ and able to afford the recruitment of a force which might be strong enough to oppose the Yamanīs; and,

29. S.M.I., 75b-76b; ash-Shudhūr, f.20b.

30. Ta’rīkh ad-Dawlat al-Kathiriyya, I, p. 172, repeated from al-Qirtās by ‘Ali b. Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭās.

31. He owned large gum forests in Ḍafār and factories where it was processed for export in his own ships. His lands in the fertile valley of Tārība in the Ḥaḍramawt was said to be worth tens of thousands of riyāls. Cf. Ta’rīkh ad-Dawlat al-Kathiriyya, I, p. 76.

in fact, he employed the services of fifteen thousand soldiers from South Arabia and the Yamanī tribe of al-Mu‘adḍa. The latter were in revolt against the Imām in al-Jawf, and further helped Sulṭān Badr by enlisting men for his army in Najrān.³² Most of the prominent men (manāṣib)^{32a} in the Ḥaḍramāwṭ counselled him to oppose the Yamanī invaders, but one voice was raised against this policy. Sayyid ‘Umar b. ‘Abd-ar-Rahmān al-‘Aṭṭās, the holy man of Ḥurayḍa, wrote to him urging him not to attempt to resist this "night flood" (sayl al-layl).³³

Sulṭān Badr found himself unable to agree with the

32. S.M.I., f.76b.

32a. The manāṣib, (literary, "offices, appointments") were the religious leaders who had the custodianship of shrines (ḥawṭas) and sacred places in South Arabia.

33. He was born at al-Lask, near ‘Īnāt. While still young he became blind, but despite this he continued his studies under his father and al-Ḥusayn b. Abū Bakr of ‘Īnāt, and later travelled to Tarīm to receive the teaching of the prominent scholars located there. After having spent some time among the learned and holy men of the valley of Daw‘an, he settled in the valley of ‘Amd, where his reputation attracted many wishing to be his pupils. He died in Ḥurayḍa in 1077. Cf. ‘Iqd al-Jawāhir, f.156b. ‘Abd-Allāh b. Ḥāmid as-Saqqāf, however, in his Ta‘līqāt to the Riḥlat al-Ashwāq al-Qawīyya of ‘Abd-Allāh Bā-Kathir 112, says that he died at Nafḥūn, a city lying between ‘Amd and Ḥurayḍa, on 23 Rab. II 1072, but was brought to Ḥurayḍa for burial. When the Yamanīs arrived in

(Contd.)

advice of al-‘Aṭṭās, and, hoping to bring him over to his own view, he went to Ḥurayḍa in company with ‘Abd-Allāh b. ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān al-‘Amūdī, known as Abū-Sit, who commanded the support of the tribes of Daw‘an, Balfanīya, ad-Dayyin and al-Mashājir. The Sultān produced the letters he had received from the other manāṣib of the region urging him to resist the Zaydīs, but he did not influence al-‘Aṭṭās, who again insisted that he should not try to confront the enemy on the field of battle. Badr left, pretending that he would follow this advice, but in reality determined to fight.³⁴

The Yamanī and Ḥaḍramī armies were concentrated around ‘Ushayr and Baḥrān respectively. The Sultān's troops in al-Hajrayn left here to join forces with him, but the people of the city went to Aḥmad, offering their submission and asking him to spare the place and its environs as far as Maykh. While the city of al-Munayzira which was attacked and pillaged for harbouring spies of the Sultān, al-Hajrayn was merely used as a camp for two or three hundred Yamanī soldiers to whom the town-people had to supply food. The main body of the Yamanīs left

Contd.) the Ḥaḍramawt, he sent a letter to Aḥmad b.

al-Ḥasan imploring him to be merciful to its people.

Cf. Ta’rīkh ad-Dawlat al-Kathīriyya, I, p. 73 (quoting from al-Qirtās).

34. Ta’rīkh ad-Dawlat al-Kathīriyya, I, p. 82 (from al-Qirtās).

'Ushayr for Murwāḥ, where they made contact with the Ḥaḍramīs on 4th Sha'bān 1070. Aḥmad arranged his troops with the infantry in the centre, flanked by cavalry wings on the left and right, and in the ensuing battle the Ḥaḍramīs were routed, losing many men slain or captive.³⁵ The Sultān and his suite escaped to Haynan while Aḥmad's troops sacked the cities of Ḥawra and Sadba.³⁶

From Haynan the Sultān wrote to Aḥmad at al-Mukhaynīq asking that his life be spared; but fearing that this was a trick, Aḥmad refused the request and, instead, sent troops against Haynan. On news of this approach, the Sultān left the city to be taken without a struggle and fled to the valley of Ju'ayma,³⁷ where he took refuge in the mountain stronghold of his uncles (ash-Shanāfir).³⁸ The Yamanīs continued their penetration of the Ḥaḍramawt, and on 7 Sha'bān 1070 arrived at the city of Shibām, from where contingents were dispatched against Sayūn and Tarīs.

While Aḥmad was in Shibām he received the submission of the Kathīrī family, and even Ḥasan, the

35. S.M.I., f.77a.

36. Ibn Hāshim, Ta'rīkh, I, p. 73.

37. S.M.I., f.78b.

38. Ibn Hāshim, op.cit.; 'Iqd al-Jawāhir, f.114b.

brother of the Sulṭān, sought and received the clemency of the invaders. The next move was to Sayūn, the capital of the Kathīrī state, and here he received another letter from Sulṭān Badr, offering his capitulation, and this was now accepted by Aḥmad. Badr arrived at Sayūn on 20 Sha‘bān 1070, and stayed here until the end of the month, at which time he was granted permission to travel to the Yaman to meet the Imām. The meeting took place on the 28 Ram. and the Imām treated the Sulṭān with courtesy and respect.

Present in the Yaman at this time were two brothers of the Sulṭān, ‘Alī and Ṭālib. The former had come here in 1068 in the course of a pilgrimage and had remained because he wished to avoid involvement in the struggle which he foresaw between his brother and the Zaydīs. Ṭālib, who had been his brother's governor in ash-Shiḥr, was also worried by the outcome of such a confrontation, and he went to the Zaydī governor of Aden to offer submission to the Imām, and to ask ^{for} permission to reside in the Yaman.³⁹

Among the changes which the Zaydīs made in the religious life of the country was the prohibition of use of the reed-flute (yarā‘) and tambourine (daff) in the services (ḥaḍra) of the followers of Sayyid ‘Abd-

39. S.M.I., f.79a.

ar-Rahmān as-Saqqāf.⁴⁰ The call to prayer was altered to include the formula, ḥayyā ‘alā khayri ‘l-‘amal, and only the mu’adhdhin of the Bā-‘Alawī mosque at Tarīm, a certain ‘Abd-Allāh b. ‘Umar Bā-Faḍl, refused to comply, maintaining a stubborn silence when even the Zaydīs threatened him.⁴¹ The property of Sulṭān Badr

40. Al-Mamshra‘, I, p. 139. The holy man, Sayyid ‘Abd-ar-Rahmān as-Saqqāf, was born in Tarīm in 739. After being educated in his native town, he went to al-Ghayl and Aden to study under the renowned scholars of those places. Ultimately, he achieved a reputation as an authority on Exegesis (Tafsīr) and Tradition (ḥadīth); students came to study under him, and problems were presented to him for decision (fatawī). He died in Tarīm in 819. Cf. al-Mashra‘, ii, pp.141-146; at-Ṭayyib Bā-Makhrama, Qilādat an-Naḥr, f.151. Ibn Hāshim, Ta’rīkh ad-Dawlat al-Kathīriyya, i, p. 173, mentions that the Zaydīs prohibited recitations of the litany of the illustrious Ḥaḍramī saint Sayyid ‘Abd-Allāh b. ‘Alawī al-Ḥaddād, but this cannot be correct, for al-Ḥaddād composed this litany in 1071, i.e. one year after their occupation of the region. Cf. ‘Abd-Allāh b. Aḥmad Bā-Sawdān, Dhakhīrat al-Ma‘ād li-Sharḥ Rātib al-Quṭub al-Ḥaddād, 49. R.B. Serjeant, 'The Zaydis' 294, repeats this error, relying on the authority of Ibn Hāshim. The latter is also responsible for its appearance in the early version of Sa‘īd Bā-Wazīr's Safahāt min at-Ta’rīkh al-Ḥaḍramī, but it was corrected by ‘Abd-‘llāh b. Ḥasan Bā-‘l-Faqīh in his revision of this text in Istidrākāt wa Tahariyyāt, p.28. The latter scholar, however, asserts that the Zaydīs prohibited the entire ḥaḍra of as-Saqqāf, and not merely these two musical instruments. He does not give a source for this statement, which is in contradiction to that of ash-Shillī who was a contemporary to the events described.

41. Ta’rīkh ad-Dawlat al-Kathīriyya, i, p. 73.

was confiscated and distributed among the Zaydī troops, who were eager for some reward after the long campaign.⁴² In Ramaḍān, Aḥmad collected the fiṭra and apportioned it among the poor people, and in most other ways behaved as the actual ruler of the region, punishing evildoers and appointing his own Judges.

Badr b.

A member of the Kathīrī family, ‘Alī b. ↑ ‘Umar, was appointed governor of ash-Shiḥr, and he went to take up his post escorted by six hundred Zaydī soldiers under the command of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Jamīl. It was felt necessary to give him such strong protection, because the people of the city were supporting the former governor, Ṭālib, b. ‘Abd-Allāh, even though he was in the Yaman at this time; moreover, the powerful tribe of al-Ḥumūm in the vicinity maintained their loyalty to Sultān Badr b. ‘Abd-Allāh and opposed the efforts of the Zaydīs to establish a puppet regime in the province. When the new governor arrived at the city, ‘Alī Mar‘ī, the deputy of Ṭālib b. ‘Abd-Allāh, offered his submission; the Yamanī troops established their barracks in the citadel, while ‘Alī b. Badr took up residence in the Kathīrī palace. Although the tribe of al-Ḥumūm behaved in a hostile fashion, and even murdered four Zaydī soldiers, no attempt at retaliation was made against them, for it was important that no large scale

42. ash-Shudhūr, f.21a.

tribal activity be provoked which might sever the communications of the city. Muḥammad b. Jamīl returned to the Yaman (presumably taking his troops with him), travelling by the coastal route through Ḥiṣṇ al-Ghurāb and Bi'r 'Alī and arriving at Mayfa'a after a journey of eighteen days. He brought back with him three hundred camels laden with booty.⁴³

Ja'far b. 'Abd-Allāh al-Kathīrī, who had brought about the hostility between the Imām Ismā'īl and his brother Sulṭān Badr b. 'Abd-Allāh, having succeeded his uncle Badr b. 'Umar in the rule of Ḍafār, had renewed trading contacts with the Turks at Jidda. He planned to flee to the Ḥijāz in the event of his brother being defeated. However, in Rajab 1070 his ships were apprehended by the Zaydī governor of the Red Sea port of al-Ḥudayda, and in Shawwāl of the same year the governor of Aden confiscated some other ships belonging to him and sent their cargoes to the Yaman in a caravan of 54 camels, where it was confiscated by the Imām. He claimed that this was not the legitimate property of Ja'far, who had himself confiscated it from the merchants of the Kanq (Shī'ite Imāmīs from India).⁴⁴

Ja'far, indeed, was expecting an attack from the

43. S.M.I., 82b.

44. S.M.I., f.82b.

Zaydī invaders and he made preparation against it by proposing an alliance with his neighbour in ‘Umān, Sultān b. Sayf, al-Ya‘rubī, who was asked to send auxiliaries to Ḥafār to assist in the resistance. Sultān saw this as an opportunity of annexing the territory, he sent two hundred troops to Jā‘far, but while these were being welcomed two hundred more arrived by a different route and seized the citadel of Ḥafār. al-Jurmūzī seeks to mitigate this treachery by explaining that Sultān had received a message from the ruler of India (or Persia, - al-Jurmūzī is not sure which) accusing Jā‘far of confiscating the property of the merchants of the Kanq, and ordering that he be expelled from his governorship. Once Ḥafār was taken and Jā‘far drew out of the region, Sultān made profession of submission to the Zaydīs, confident that because of the distance involved he would not feel it necessary to enter the territory of one who had declared his friendship.⁴⁵

Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan now decided to return to the Yaman with his army, which had now grown so large that it was proving difficult to provide for it. Internal problems within the Yaman made help from there uncertain, and even should it be forthcoming it was unlikely to reach the Ḥaḍramawt in time to be of use. The Imām had instructed him to establish local rulers who had

45. S.M.I., f.79b-82b.

accepted the Zaydī doctrine even the conquered territories, in accordance with which he installed Sulṭān Badr b. 'Umar al-Kathīrī as ruler of the Ḥaḍramawt and exacted an oath of loyalty to him from the rest of the Kathīrī family.⁴⁶

Aḥmad left Sayūn for Haynan, where he divided his army into three divisions, sending one under 'Alī al-Jamlūlī by way of as-Sawṭ, another under Aḥmad b. 'Abd-ar-Rabb on a parallel route, while he himself had the third by way of Shabwa across the territory of al-'Awlaqī. During his return he punished those tribes who had shown any disloyalty to the Zaydīs while the army was in the Ḥaḍramawt, and he finally arrived at al-Bayḍā' on the 8th Dhū 'l-Hijja 1070.⁴⁷ Once in the Yaman he was welcomed and honoured by the Imām,⁴⁸ whose only displeasure was that some of the booty which had been taken in the Ḥaḍramawt was looted by the tribes whose territories were crossed on the way back.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, that which was brought back especially the ālāt (? table vessels) of the deposed Sulṭān - was such as the people of Ṣan'ā had never before seen, and it was put on display, to edify the citizens and to serve as a warning to any

46. 'Iqd al-Jawāhir, f.144b.

47. S.M.I., 84a.

48. ash-Shudhūr, f.21b.

49. Tabaq al-Ḥalwā, f.42b; ash-Shudhūr, f.21b.

potential enemies in the town.⁵⁰

Ja'far b. 'Abd-Allāh, the deposed governor of Zafār, wrote to his uncle Badr b. 'Umar, the new Sulṭān of the Ḥaḍramawt, asking him to intercede with the Imām to spare his life. Apparently re-assured as to the reception he would receive, he came out of hiding and presented himself to Badr in Ramaḍān 1071. Again he asked for his uncle's mediation, but for some reasons not explained in the sources he decided to go in person to the Imām and plead for mercy. In Shawwāl 1071 he arrived in Dathīna, where Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan was putting down a local insurrection. Aḥmad sent him together with Sulṭān al-Faḍlī to the Imām's residence at Shahāra, and this is the last that is heard of him in the sources.⁵¹

The Kathīrīs in the Ḥaḍramawt could not be content to leave their original home lands of Zafār under the occupation of the 'Umānīs, even though the Zaydīs were prepared to accept the nominal allegiance which the latter offered. Therefore, in Rab. I, 1074 they attacked its governor, Khalaf, and forced him to flee the territory, leaving behind him two cannons.

50. S.M.I., 88a. This is the last event concerned with Yamanī activity in South Arabia which al-Jurmūzī relates in this text.

51. an-Nūr al-Mushriq, III. ff. 9b, 14a-15b. Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwā, ff.44b.

Muḥammad b. Ja'īar al-Kathīrī was installed as governor of the region, with the Friday khutba being read in the name of the Imām Ismā'īl.⁵²

The Ḥaḍramawt remained under the rule of Sultān Badr b. 'Umar until his death in 1075 while on his way to Mecca to perform the Pilgrimage. The Imām availed himself of the opportunity to appoint Amīr ad-Dīn al-'Ulufī governor of the port of ash-Shiḥr, leaving the remainder of the province to Badr's son, Muḥammad.⁵³ When al-'Ulufī arrived at Sayūn, he reported to the Imām in a letter dated I Rab. I, 1075 that the Ḥaḍramawt was peaceful, and that its people were following the Sharī'a, and he said that he expected no opposition to his taking up the governorship of ash-Shiḥr.⁵⁴ Muḥammad b. Badr proved to be a strong ruler, and he was able to force his will on the tribes, in particular, he suppressed the tribe of ash-Shanāfir which had supported his cousin Badr b. 'Abd-Allāh against his father, Badr

52. Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwā, f.50b.

53. Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwā, f.53b; ash-Shudhūr, f.25b. The sources (or rather the copyist confuse this Sultān Badr b. 'Umar with his nephew the deposed Sultān Badr b. 'Abd-Allāh. However, both the Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwā, f41b and al-Laṭā'if, f.109b, recorded that the latter died in the Ḥaḍramawt immediately after his return from the Yaman in Ramaḍan 1070. Muḥammad b. Hāshim, Ta'rīkh, I, p.87, however, stated that he remained in the Yaman until 1075, when he returned to the Ḥaḍramawt and died in the same year. He also states, p.74, that Sultān Badr b. 'Umar died in Medina in 1073, but this is clearly an error.

54. an-Nūr al-Mushriq, III, f.47b.

b. 'Umar.⁵⁵

Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Kathīrī, the governor of Ṣafār, in some way excited the suspicions of the Imām as to the sincerity of his loyalty, and he was, therefore, replaced in Ṣafar 1077 by 'Uthmān Zayd, a Zaydī slave. This the Kathīrīs were not prepared to accept; and after several vain attempts to persuade the new governor to leave, they finally attacked him and drove him from the region. Now Dhū 'l-Qa'da 1077 the Imām sent a force of two hundred soldiers under the command of Zayd b. Khalīl to re-instate 'Uthmān Zayd, and after much pointless argument Muḥammad b. Ja'far was persuaded to return to the Yaman with Ibn Khalīl and discuss the matter with the Imām himself. They arrived there in the middle of Jam. II, 1078.⁵⁶

This same Zayd b. Khalīl was shortly afterwards appointed governor of both ash-Shiḥr and Ṣafār and sent there with five hundred soldiers, and stocks of gunpowder and ammunition. He left the Yaman on 24 Dhū 'l-Hijja 1078, and on arriving at ash-Shiḥr he replaced 'Uthmān Zayd as governor of Ṣafār with his own son.⁵⁷

The ruler of 'Umān, Sultān b. Sayf,⁵⁸ was intent on revenging the defeat his governor in Ṣafār had

55. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭās, Nubdha, f.12b.

56. an-Nūr al-Mushriq, f.III, ff. 67b, 69b; 91a.

57. an-Nūr al-Mushriq, f.III, f. 99b; Tabaq al-Ḥalwā, f.78a; ash-Shudhūr, f.29a.

58. This Sultān came to power in 'Umān on 10th Rab. II, 1050. Cf. 'Abd-Allāh b. Ḥamīd as-Sālmī, Tuḥfat al-A'yan, II, 45.

suffered at the hands of the Kathīrīs, and when he felt that his strength was sufficient he went on to the offensive. On the 1st Dhū 'l-Ḥijja 1079, his ships attacked certain European vessels in the port of Aden, and after a fierce battle escaped with booty from three of them.⁵⁹ Towards the end of the same month, his fleet ravaged the coastal districts of al-Mahra and, attacking the island of Suqūtra, they killed its chief and made off with its wealth.⁶⁰

When the Imām protested to Sulṭān b. Sayf about these activities,⁶¹ he received a strongly worded reply, dated Rab. I, 1080, in which it was claimed that no harm was done to the people of the Yaman by these attacks on the ships of the infidels, which were in the nature of a reprisal for the raids they had made on the coasts of 'Umān. He, also demanded the return of two cannon which his former governor of Ṣafār, Khalaf, had abandoned when driven from the province by the Kathīrīs, saying that if he were not handed back he would extend his naval marauding to the coastal territories of

59. ash-Shudhūr, f.29a.

60. Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwā, f.78b.

61. His actual letter was lost when the ship carrying its bearer was wrecked, and the message was transmitted verbally by the latter.

the Yaman itself.⁶² This provoked an equally stern rejoinder from the Imām, who refused to return the cannon which he considered legitimate booty. He commented that the Sulṭān had been emboldened to write in such terms only because of the safe distance his territories were from the Yaman, but he assured him that a Zaydī army would certainly enter ‘Umān.⁶³ Despite this, the Imām later instructed his governor of Ḥafār to return the cannon,⁶⁴ and this must be understood as resulting from the growing weakness of the Zaydīs in this part of South Arabia.

Indicative of this was, also, the revolt of the Kathīrīs in Ḥafār against the Zaydī governor which took place in the same year (1080). The Imām sent his slave ‘Uthmān Zayd to restore his influence in the province, and on the advice of the latter the governor of ash-Shiḥr agreed to replace his son who had been his deputy in Ḥafār with ‘Uthmān Zayd, but by now the situation there was beyond saving, and not only Ḥafār, but all of the Ḥaḍramawt except the seaport of ash-Shiḥr were once again under the power of the Kathīrīs who professed only

62. [Majmū‘at ar-Rasā’il], Ambrosiana, A. 119, f.12a; Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Habal, Rawḍat al-Maythānī, ff.71b-72b.

63. [Majmū‘at ar-Rasā’il], Ambrosiana, A. 119, f.13a.

64. al-Jindāri, al-Jāmi‘ al-wajīz, f.144b.

a nominal subjection to the Imām.⁶⁵ Apparently the latter reserved the right to appoint the Sultāns of the dynasty, for when Muḥammad b. Badr died towards the end of 1080, his brother 'Īsā was nominated as his successor by the Imām.⁶⁶ When 'Īsā died the following year, his successor, too, 'Alī b. Badr was appointed by the Imām, but this was the limit of the influence which the Zaydīs now exercised in the Ḥaḍramawt.⁶⁷

In Jam. II, 1081, the Zaydīs made another attempt to restore their authority to this region. Al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan, the Imām's nephew, sent a delegation here to negotiate with the Kathīrīs, but the latter re-asserted more forcibly their claims to sovereignty in the Ḥaḍramawt and even had two of the emissaries slain.⁶⁸ In 1083, the governor of ash-Shiḥr, the last city remaining in Zaydī hands in the region, was forced to come to terms with the Kathīrīs,⁶⁹ and further evidence of decline in their influence could be seen in the inability of the Imām to offer any assistance to the Sultān of al-Mahra who took refuge in ash-Shiḥr when fleeing before an invasion of his lands by the 'Umānīs in 1084.⁷⁰ This

65. ash-Shudhūr, f.30a.

66. Muḥammad Bā-Ḥannān, Jawāhir Ta'rīkh al-Aḥqāf, II, p.209.

67. Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwā, f.83a.

68. ash-Shudhūr, f.31b; Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwā, 87a.

69. Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwā, f.92a.

70. Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwā, f.97b.

was to encourage the 'Umānīs to further aggressions: in 1085 the island of Suqūṭra was again invaded and many of its inhabitants killed; and later an attempt on the port of Aden was foiled when the guns of the island of Ṣīra opened up on their ships. Their attempt to blockade the Bāb al-Mandab passage was defeated by forces sent against them by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, who at the same time strengthened the garrisons of the other ports of the Yaman.⁷¹ In 1087 the 'Umānīs again sought to seize control of the Bāb al-Mandab, but were this time also repulsed by the force of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan.⁷²

The Imām Ismā'īl had died in Jam. II, 1087 and been succeeded by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, who styled himself al-Mahdī. The Kathīrī Sultān of the Ḥaḍramawt sent the usual congratulatory presents and offered his submission,⁷³ but the Sultān of 'Umān refused to offer any recognition to the new Imām and continued in the acts of aggression against the Yamanīs described above. In Jam. I, 1090, his fleet attacked the ships of the Indian merchants in the port of Aden, but the governor of the port succeeded in repulsing the attackers with serious losses.⁷⁴ Undeterred, they were back at the Bab al-Mandab in Rab I of the same year, exacting

71. ash-Shudhūr, f.35a; Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwā, f.99a.

72. ash-Shudhūr, f.38a.

73. ibid., 41a; Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwā, 109b.

74. ibid., 119b; ash-Shudhūr, 46a.

tribute from the merchant ships seeking to use the passage.⁷⁵ In Shawwāl of 1090, the 'Umānī Sultān was deposed in favour of his son,⁷⁶ he died shortly afterwards, and his death signalled a return of peace to the port cities of South Arabia.⁷⁷

75. Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwā, 119a.

76. ibid., 120a.

77. ash-Shudhūr, f.46b.

CHAPTER V

THE REVOLT OF SOUTH ARABIA AGAINST THE ZAYDĪ RULE

It was only during the Imāmates of Ismā'īl b. al-Qāsim (d. 1087) and his nephew, al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan (d. 1092), that the Zaydīs of the Yaman were able to maintain such a grip on South Arabia. After the death of the latter, struggle within the family among pretenders to the succession absorbed the energies and the resources that had formerly gone into expansionist schemes, and the victims of the latter were presented with an opportunity to regain what they had lost.

On the death of al-Mahdī, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, who was then governor of Ṣan'ā, proclaimed himself Imām with the title al-Mu'ayyad,¹ and in this he enjoyed the support of the people who respected him for the uprightness of his character, it being said of him that he "was like 'Umar b. 'Abd-al-'Azīz in the Āl al-Qāsim family."² Four other pretenders arose to contest his succession: his first cousins al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad and al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan and 'Alī b. Aḥmad Abū-Ṭālib; a second cousin Muḥammad b. Aḥmad of al-Manṣūra, known as Ṣāhib al-Mawāhib. All of these, however, ultimately agreed to abandon their own claims

1. as-Siḥr al-Mubīn, f.5a.

2. ash-Shudhūr al-'Asjadiyya, f.47a.

and recognize al-Mu'ayyad as Imām, on condition that they each be granted full sovereignty in the provinces they held.³ In this way the centralized control of the Yaman itself was lost, and with it the most important condition for the maintenance of its South Arabia conquest.

Al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan remained the supreme commander of the eastern frontiers of the Yaman, and it was on him that it fell to maintain Zaydī authority in South Arabia. The cruel and tyrannical behaviour of his governor in Yāfi', Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad Mismār, provoked the people of the region to revolt.⁴ The local chiefs who had been reluctantly co-operating with the Zaydīs saw this disunity in the Yaman as an opportunity to exact revenge for what had been inflicted on their people during the conquests. Yāfi'ī leaders such as Ma'ūda b. Muḥammad b. al-'Afīf and Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad b. Harhara, and certain sections of the Banū ar-Raṣṣās spearheaded the insurrection against their masters; Ma'ūda seized control of most of the region of Yāfi', encouraged by the Zaydī governor of al-Manṣūra, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, who had been estranged from his uncle al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan by the dispute over the succession.⁵ He

3. Bughyat al-Murīd, f.63b; al-Laṭā'if, f.114b.

4. ash-Shudhūr al-'Asjadiyya, f.47a.

5. Bughyat al-Murīd, f.107a.

was, also, said to have had the support of the governor of Ta'iz, 'Alī b. al-Mutawakkil, the brother of the Imām.⁶

Ṣālih b. Aḥmad Mismār was driven out of Yāfi' despite the troops which al-Ḥusayn had sent under the command of his son Ismā'īl to help him, and his property in the garrison city of the region, Masjid an-Nūr, was looted.⁷ Despite the urging of his advisers, the Imām felt unable to send troops to the region to restore the situation; his most immediate concern was with Muḥammad b. Aḥmad of al-Manṣūra, and even when his hostility was brought to an end by the attack of the Ṣūfī, ar-Rajabī, on that city, his forces were now needed to repress the new menace.⁸

The position of al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan in his headquarters at al-Khalqa now was becoming precarious, especially after the city of al-Qāra fell into the hands of Mu'ūda b. al-'Afīf. He sent the Yāfi'ī chief, Ṣālih

6. as-Siḥr al-Mubīn, f.7b.

7. Bughyat al-Murīd, f.107b.

8. ash-Shudhūr al-'Asjadiyya, f.48a; as-Siḥr al-Mubīn, ff. 8a-9b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan was the governor of al-Manṣūra in the region of al-Ḥujariyya. In 1092, a wandering Ṣūfī named ar-Rajabī denounced his tyrannical behaviour and led the people in an attack on al-Manṣūra. Muḥammad appealed to the Imām for help, and this was sent, despite the objections of certain members of his council who felt that the Yaman should receive these forces.

b. Harhara to the latter to persuade him to return to friendly relations with the Zaydīs, but once his emissary had entered the "liberated" territories he, too, joined in the revolt and incited an attack on al-Ḥusayn, who was now so vulnerable.⁹ The people of Yāfi' fell in with the wishes of Ṣāliḥ; they elected him their Sulṭān and leader in their struggle for liberation from Zaydī domination, and his first act towards this purpose was to make a treaty of alliance with Ma'ūda b. al-'Afīf of al-Qāra.¹⁰

In the battle that ensued, al-Ḥusayn suffered defeat and was forced to flee to his castle, where for two days he was besieged by the Yāfi'īs. He agreed to surrender on the condition that he be allowed to withdraw unmolested with his troops to Radā', from where he sent messages to the Imām, telling of the Yamani defeat and requesting reinforcement.¹¹ The Yāfi'īs, who had lost five hundred men including ash-Shujā', the son of Ṣāliḥ b. Harhara, in the battle against only seventy Zaydīs, destroyed the castle of al-Khalaqa.

Lest the success of the Yāfi'īs inspire the other people of South Arabia to revolt, it became very important that the gains they had made be recovered and they themselves

9. Bughyat al-Murīd, f.108a.

10. Hadiyyat az-Zaman, 108.

11. al-Habal, Rawḍat al-Maythānī, f.90a.

punished. In 1094 the Imām sent an army against the region under the overall command of al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mutawakkil Ismā‘īl. Its first objective was al-Qāra, but while on the way there it was attacked by the tribes of ar-Raṣṣās and it was obliged to divert its course to az-Zahrā.¹² Here disaster overtook the expeditionary force, an enemy Sharīf succeeded in exploding the gunpowder store of its encampment, killing four to five hundred of the soldiers and injuring many more, including the commander-in-chief and certain of his prominent followers.¹³ The news reached al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan in Radā‘ and he hurried here with his own troops in time to prevent the remainder of the army from being attacked by the tribes in the region, i.e., al-Malāḥim, al-‘Awādī, az-Zubayrī and al-Ghaylānī.¹⁴

This defeat greatly disturbed the Imām, and when his appeals to the Yāfi‘īs to return to their former submission were rejected, he assembled an army of twelve thousand soldiers at Ḍawrān. He prepared to place al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan at the head of these troops, but this was opposed by his advisers, who felt that al-Ḥusayn was so hated by the South Arabians that his presence would preclude any eventual political settlement.

12. Bughyat al-Murīd, f.108b.

13. ash-Shudhūr al-‘Asjadiyya, f.49b; as-Siḥr al-Mubīn, f.11b.

14. Bughyat al-Murīd, f.109a.

Therefore, the command of the army was divided among three generals, foremost of whom was al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mutawakkil Ismāʿīl and it marched by the way of Radāʿ to az-Zahrā, where it received messages from Sulṭān Ṣāliḥ ar-Raṣṣāṣ offering his support. The Yāfiʿīs rejected further demands to lay down their armies, and prepared to give battle, collecting into their own forces the tribesmen of Ibn Shaʿfal, al-Ḥawāshib, al-Jumayqānī, al-Haythamī, and, despite the submission of Sulṭān Ṣāliḥ, of many subjects of ar-Raṣṣāṣ. The strength of this force came to over twenty thousand, with its leadership in the hands of Sulṭān Maʿuḍa b. al-ʿAfif, Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad b. Harhara and Nāṣir al-Khallāl (? al-Jallāl) of Kalad. In the encounter which took place on the slopes of the mountain al-ʿUrr, the Zaydīs were routed and one of their leaders, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, slain along with many of his troops. After looting the enemy camp, the Yāfiʿīs returned to their own territories.

The remains of the Yamanī army returned to Radāʿ, where it was eventually joined by al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan, whom the Imām and his advisers now felt was the only man who could redeem the situation. He brought with him supplies of gunpowder and ammunitions, and a quantity of money. However, the posture of the army was now defensive, to prevent incursions in Yamanī territory from South Arabia.¹⁵

15. Bughyat al-Murīd, ff.101a-102a; ash-Shadhūr, f.49b; as-Siḥr al-Mubīn, ff.11b-15b.

A treaty of peace was concluded between the Imām and the Yāfi'īs; 'Alī b. Ismā'īl, the brother of the Imām and, earlier, his rival for the succession, who was at this time governor of Ta'iz, acted as the intermediary. But this did not hinder the Imām from seeking revenge for the humiliation his troops had suffered. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, the second cousin of the Imām, who was governor of al-Manṣūra and the rival of 'Alī b. Ismā'īl, with the approval of the Imām, sent his son with a force of soldiers to Ḥarīr on the pretext of repressing a revolt by the tribes of al-Ḥawāshib and al-Aj'ūd. 'Alī protested to the Imām that this was in breach of the treaty which had just been concluded, in which it was stipulated that the region of Ḥarīr should be left under the protection of Prince Qāsim b. Sha'fal, and the adjoining region of ash-Sha'īb under that of the Yāfi'īs, they, therefore, had responsibility for subduing these rebels.¹⁶ The Imām should be aware that his act was sinful (baghy), because his word ('ahd) had been pledged to the Yāfi'īs; and should the latter retaliate they would be acting lawfully in the sight of God. In the same letter in which he makes these moral objections, he also points out that the South Arabians were now stronger than the Yamanīs, and that ventures into the region could only result in defeat. Therefore,

16. Prince Qāsim, too, is said to have written to the Imām protesting at this intrusion to his territories.

it behoved the Imām to concentrate his attention on the internal affairs of the Yaman.

In the event, the force sent from al-Manṣūra was defeated by the Yāfi'īs.¹⁷ About the same time 'Alī b. Ismā'īl died (3 Ramaḍān 1096),¹⁸ and not long afterwards, on 23 Jam. II, 1097,¹⁹ the Imām, too, passed away, having achieved nothing from his efforts against Yāfi'.

The death of the Imām al-Mu'ayyad was the signal for the outbreak of civil war in the Yaman among the pretenders to the throne and their followings - this time no less than six claimants aspiring to the rule.²⁰ Of

17. ash-Shudhūr, ff. 50a-51b; as-Siḥr al-Mubīn, ff.19a-20a.

18. Muḥammad b. 'Alī ash-Shawkānī, al-Badr at-Tāli', I, 439.

19. al-Jāmi' al-Wajīz, f.154a.

20. These were, of course, all of Zaydī descent: al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd-al-Qādir, the governor of Kawkabān; al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, the governor of 'Amrān; 'Alī b. Aḥmad, the governor of Sa'da, al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan, the governor of Radā' al-'Arsh, Yūsuf b. al-Mutawakkil Ismā'īl, the brother of the former Imām and now governor of Dawrān, whom al-Mu'ayyad had proposed as his successor; and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, the governor of al-Manṣūra. Cf. al-Siḥr al-Mubīn, f.22b.

these Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, the governor of al-Manṣūra, took the advantage of the disorder to expand his territories, and despite the opposition of his own family, the Āl al-Qāsim, he eventually succeeded in winning the Imāmate for himself.

He had sent troops under the command of his two sons, ‘Abd-Allāh and Ibrāhīm, to attack his neighbour al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Ismā‘īl, the governor of Jabala who was supporting Yūsuf; but the army was defeated at an-Najd al-Aḥmar by al-Ḥusayn's ally, al-Wādi‘ī. Nevertheless, the forces led by ‘Abd-Allāh succeeded in capturing the city of Ibb from where they expanded into the Yaman, exacting oaths (bay‘a) of loyalty to Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan on the pain of death should this be refused. In spite of this, certain members of the Āl al-Qāsim refused to acknowledge his claim to the Imāmate.

‘Abd-Allāh had expected that his father would leave him in charge of the territories he had subjugated, but when this appointment was not forthcoming, he rebelled and lent his support to Yūsuf b. Ismā‘īl. Muḥammad sent a third son, Ismā‘īl, at the head of an army against him. He was defeated and taken captive. However, he was released and sent back to al-Manṣūra in order to persuade his father to accede to ‘Abd-Allāh's demands. When these were again refused, the Āl al-Qāsim mustered their supporters and laid siege to al-Manṣūra for forty days. After negotiations for surrender had fallen through, fighting resumed once again; and this time Muḥammad

inflicted a telling defeat on the supporters of the Āl al-Qāsim, and was left the absolute ruler of the Yaman and the unrivalled Imām. His son ‘Abd-Allāh was captured in the course of the battle, and although his father at first proposed to kill him, he later relented and spared his life. At first, Muḥammad chose the style an-Nāṣir, but this was later changed to al-Hādī, and then once more to al-Mahdī.²¹ In fact, under this last title he laid claim to being "the promised deliverer" (al-Mahdī ‘l-Muntazar) of the Muslims.²²

This civil war lasted but a few months, and once the new Imām felt himself secure as the accepted ruler of the Zaydīs, his first act was to seek revenge from the Yāfi‘īs by launching an attack on Ma‘uḍa b. al-‘Afīf. He was advised to postpone such a campaign at this time when the central Treasury was without adequate funds,²³ but so great was his thirst for vengeance that he refused to listen and even proposed that he should lead the army in person. The ‘ulamā’ of Dhamār persuaded him against risking himself in this way, but he gained his main

21. ash-Shudhūr al-‘Asjadiyya, ff.52a-54a.

22. al-Jāmi‘ al-Wajiz, f.158a, as-Siḥr al-Mubīn, f.66b.

23. The regions of the Imām had become virtually autonomous during the preceding reign, paying few revenues into the Treasury; some, as for example Ta‘iz under the government of ‘Alī b. al-Mutawakkil Ismā‘īl, even coined their own money.

objective in having a campaign organized against the Yāfi'īs.

An army was sent to the Imām's uncle, al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan in Radā', under whose command it laid siege to al-Khalaqa. However, about this time the Imām, imprisoning certain leaders and releasing others, and in general creating such a state of uncertainty and insecurity in the command that al-Ḥusayn felt his position to be imperilled. The army leaders decided to depose al-Mahdī and set al-Ḥusayn in his place as Imām, and after they had done this they withdrew the troops from Yāfi'ī territory back to Radā'.

The Imām al-Mahdī immediately sent an army under the command of his son Muḥsin against the usurped, but none of the battles fought between the two sides proved conclusive, and hostilities dragged on until 1100.²⁴ The Imām, then, persuaded al-Ḥusayn that he was prepared to admit his rights to the Imāmate and invited him to come to Sāma to discuss the matter. Unwarily al-Ḥusayn did so, only to be immediately seized by the supporters of his nephew and imprisoned in Kawkabān.²⁵

24. as-Siḥr al-Mubīn, f.31b. In 1099, the Āl al-Qāsim tried to effect a reconciliation between the two, but to no avail. Cf. ash-Shudhūr al-'Asjadiyya, f.56b.

25. Before leaving for Sāma, al-Ḥusayn had made a treaty with Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Faḍlī to prevent him siding with the Yāfi'īs, under the terms of which the Zaydīs withdrew from his territories and promised that they would not be invaded again. The treaty was negotiated for the Yamanīs by Ṣalāḥ b. Aḥmad Mismār, the former

Having disposed of his rival, the Imām was now able to turn his attention to South Arabia. An army of fifty thousand was collected and towards the end of Jam. (I or II, the text does not specify) 1100 he accompanied it as far as Radā'. While encamped here, news arrived that the tribe of Khawlān had revolted in the Yaman, and this situation was further inflamed when the Imām killed the qādī 'Abd-Allāh b. Aḥmad adh-Dhamārī whom the Khawlānīs were supporting. The situation was serious enough to cause him to conclude a peace with the South Arabians, so that his army could be employed against the enemy nearest to home. In this same year he attacked and defeated the rebel Khawlānīs.²⁶

In 1101, another campaign was launched against South Arabia, the army this time being placed under the command of Jābir b. Khalīl. While these troops were collecting at al-Baydā', Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad b. Harhara

Contd.) governor of Yāfi'. Cf. Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī, Fī Sharqal-Yaman. This is only authority to mention this treaty, which is dated 1100; however, in two other treaties cited in the same work (p. 89, p. 92) the name of the same otherwise unknown witness ('Abd-al-'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Aḥdal) appears, despite the fact that the first is dated 1075 and the second 1152! This, as well as other irrationalities in their texts, must persuade the reader to treat the authenticity of all these as doubtful.

26. Zayd b. Ṣāliḥ b. Abū 'r-Rijāl, ar-Rawḍ az-Zāhir, ff. 122a-125a.

received permission from Prince ar-Raṣṣās to cross his territories and attack the Yamanīs. The forces of Ṣāliḥ and Ma'ūda b. al-'Afīf, led by the latter's daughter Nūr, assaulted al-Bayḍā', but the Yamanīs proved too strong for them - they were defeated and their leader slain. The body of Nūr was taken back to Yāfi' for burial.

Determined to put an end to Yāfi'ī insubordination, the Imām instructed his army to pursue the enemy into their own strongholds. In a battle which was fought on 4 Raj. 1101 between the two sides at the mountain of al-'Urr, the Yamanīs suffered defeat. Two of the tribal elements in their army, 'Ans and al-Ḥadā, were overcome by the Yāfi'īs, and seeing this the other soldiers withdrew to the foot of the mountain.²⁷ But another account has it that Jābir b. Khalīl, who was jealous of these tribes, did not wish them to be allowed a victory; and he therefore deliberately withdrew the other troops so that the Yāfi'īs could have an easy triumph over the two. A third version implies that there was complicity between Jābir and Ibn al-'Afīf; a suspicion that is supported by the fact that the latter, although victorious, agreed to profess an outward loyalty to the Imām and to come to the Yaman to confer with him in two months time.²⁸

The Imām felt that the responsibility for the

27. as-Siḥr al-Mubīn, f.40a, ar-Rawḍ az-Zāhir, 137a.

28. ash-Shudhūr al-'Asjadiyya, f.59b.

defeat rested with Jābir, and this suspicion was encouraged by the latter's enemies at court who circulated a false rumour that he had made an alliance with Ibn al-ʿAfīf and Prince ar-Raṣṣāṣ to fight against the Yamanīs. The supplies to his troops were cut off, leaving them in a desperate position, and Jābir, fearing that the Imām would subject him to punishment, fled to his own territories in the Yaman, taking a circuitous route by the way of al-Jawf. The Imām's son Ismāʿīl, who was governor of Ṣanʿā, was ordered to proceed against the disgraced general, but when this produced no result, he began to suspect that Ismāʿīl might be conspiring with the man he was supposed to be suppressing. There were obviously good grounds for this suspicion; for in an attempt to re-assure his father, Ismāʿīl actually persuaded Jābir not only to surrender his son to him as a hostage but, also, to come in person to Ṣanʿā to attend the Friday prayer. Jābir came accompanied by one thousand men from the tribe of Hamdān; but then he re-claimed his son and returned to his own territories, where he prepared to resist the now inevitable attack by the Imām's army.

Jābir had the support of such local tribes as al-Ḥarth, Ḥushaysh and Hamdān, but when in 1102 the Zaydī army, under the command of the Imām's brother Abū-Ṭālib, concentrated at al-Ghirās, he chose to avoid a confrontation and moved off to ar-Rawḍa. From here he launched an attack on Ṣanʿā, laying siege to the city; but before

long reinforcements arrived from the Imām and he was compelled to flee to Wādi‘a where he was overtaken and killed along with his brother. The tribe of Hamadān was expelled from the Yaman, many of its members going as far as India and China.²⁹

The following year, 1103, the Imām again sent an expedition against South Arabia; but profiting by the bitter lesson of the latest expedition against Yāfi‘, he now directed the campaign against Ibn Sha‘fal. This proved more successful; Ibn Sha‘fal and the tribe of Taym were attacked and routed in some unspecified part of the former's lands and pursued throughout the territory. At this point, however, a force from Yāfi‘ led by Jābir's son Khalīl,³⁰ made a surprise attack on these Yamanīs, inflicting heavy casualties, amongst whom were the commanders Sa‘īd al-Qādī and ‘Alī b. Yahyā b. al-Mu‘ayyad.

29. These events are related in as-Sihr al-Mubīn, ff.40b-44a; and ash-Shudhūr al-‘Asjadiyya, f.59a.

30. Khalīl b. Jābir was a member of the Ismā‘īlī sect in the Yaman, which had relations with fellow-sectarians in India. He was actually on his way there aboard a European ship when, probably on hearing the news of the war between his father and the Imām, he disembarked at ash-Shihr in the Ḥaḍramawt and returned overland to his own territories. At Bayḥān he received word of his father's death, and he then proceeded to Yāfi‘ where he had the support of Ma‘uḍa b. al-‘Afīf in his struggle with the Imām. cf. as-Sihr al-Mubīn, f.44a.

The Imām who had accompanied his army as far as Juban, was still ^{there} here when the news of this defeat reached him at once returned to Radā'; where he heard that within the Yaman itself his rival 'Alī b. Aḥmad, the governor of Ṣa'da, had revolted and seized the trading centre of al-Hajar, taking the Imām's brother Abū-Ṭalīb captive. From here 'Alī went on to take Ḥubūr, as-Sawd and 'Amrān; he appointed al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd-al-Qādir as his governor in Kawkabān, and occupied the cities of Rawḍa Ḥātim and al-Jirāf. The two sons of the Imām, Ismā'īl and Muḥsin, who were in Ṣan'ā, did not feel strong enough to meet 'Alī in the field, and remained closed up in the city.³¹

Confronted with this new situation, the Imām had to abandon his designs against South Arabia, and he sought to make treaties of peace with the local chiefs. Ma'ūda b. al-'Afīf, however, was not to be placated, and the troubles of the Imām were seized as an opportunity to redress the oppressions of the past. He made an attack on the garrison of Lahij which proved unsuccessful, but on his way home he tried another attack on the city of aṭ-Ṭarriyya. Here, too, he was repulsed, the local chief, Sulṭān al-Fadlī, being supported by a body of Yamānī troops. Ma'ūda was seriously wounded in this engagement, and to take revenge for this injury to their

31. ash-Shudhūr al-'Asjadiyya, ff. 61b-62b; as-Siḥr al-Mubīn, ff. 44a-46b.

leader, the Yāfi'īs assembled an army to attack the Zaydīs. Their intention was made known to the Imām by Prince 'Alī b. Aḥmad ar-Raṣṣās, who suggested that troops should be sent to az-Zahrā to attack these Yāfi'ī concentrations before they could begin their campaign. But the Imām was hesitant about risking an army in this region, apparently out of fear of Ma'ūda, and instead he asked his ally Prince Munasssar al-'Awlaqī to lend his ^{assistance?} assistant to the Yamanī troops stationed there in resisting the Yāfi'īs.³² In 1105, the news reached him that Ma'ūda had died of the wounds he received at the battle of at-Ṭarriyya, and he thought the time was now right for a decisive move against the intractable Yāfi'īs.³³

The Imām accompanied his troops as far as az-Zahrā, where they came under determined attack from the South Arabians. Sultān Munasssar al-'Awlaqī betrayed his allegiance, and began cutting the supply routes of the Yamanīs and looting their stores at al-Baydā', Dhū-Karāsh and an-Najd. The garrison at al-Baydā' found their position here untenable and set out to join the main army at az-Zahrā. On the way they fell into an

32. According to Zayd b. Ṣālih b. Abū 'r-Rijāl, ar-Rawd az-Zāhir, ff.207b-213a, this was a trick by ar-Raṣṣās to lure the Yamanīs to the area so that he and the Yāfi'īs could attack them.

33. al-Jāmi'al-Wajīz, f.157b.

ambush, and it was only after severe fighting that they eventually joined up with the Imām.³⁴

The South Arabians launched an attack on az-Zahrā, forcing the Imām to leave the city and retreat to al-Khadrā in the Yaman, while his troops withdrew to Radā', leaving behind most of their supplies to be looted by the enemy.³⁵ The Imām held the wazīr al-Ḥaymī responsible for this defeat and confiscated his property as a punishment.³⁶ However, another army which he sent out in 1106 fared no better, being vanquished with great loss of life at al-Mi'sāl. Muḥsin b. al-Ḥasan, the author of as-Siḥr al-Mubīn, places the responsibility for these military set-backs directly on the Imām al-Mahdī, who, he says was impatient and mercurial in his behaviour, and uncooperative with his wazīrs in the execution of plans and policies.³⁷

Nevertheless, in 1108, the Imām sent another army to attack the Banū Arḍ, [ar-Raṣṣās], with no happier result. This, too, suffered defeat, and the humiliation was only redeemed by an army assembled on his own initiative by the Imām's nephew, al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn, which crossed into their territories and looted their property.³⁸

34. ar-Rawḍ az-Zāhir, ff.213b-215a.

35. ash-Shudhūr al-ʿAsjadiyya, f.65a.

36. al-Jāmiʿ al-Wajīz, f.157b.

37. as-Siḥr al-Mubīn, f.55a.

38. Ibn Abū-Ṭalib Muḥsin b. al-Ḥasan, Riyāḍ al-ʿAsjad, f.48a.

In the face of the united front adopted by the several princedoms of South Arabia which had frustrated the Yamani aggression, the Imām sought other means to extend his influence over the region. Some time later in 1108 he married a daughter of Aḥmad b. ‘Alī ar-Raṣṣās al-Jurhumī.³⁹ But once again, in 1109, he assayed a military invasion, and once again his army was defeated by the South Arabian allies at al-Mi‘sāl. This time the responsibility for the disaster was placed on the inexperience of the general whom the Imām had appointed. So again a conciliatory attitude was adopted; a general truce was arranged with the Sultāns of the region, who came to the Yaman with their delegates to ratify it.⁴⁰ But this did not last long, for in 1110 warfare broke out again, fought with the same inconclusive results.⁴¹

South Arabia soon ceased to be passing concern for the Imām, for a revolt had broken out within his own family which threatened himself and his position much more dangerously. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī al-Maḥzūrī of ash-Sharaf, also known as al-Madūmī, having studied the mystical science under Muḥammad b. ‘Alī of as-Sawd, devoted himself to pious devotions in the city of Ḥajja when he gained a reputation as a holy man among the people.

39. as-Siḥr al-Mubīn, f.61b; al-Jāmi‘ al-Wajīz, f.158b.

40. as-Siḥr al-Mubīn, ff.66b-67b.

41. ash-Shudhūr al-‘Asjadiyya, f.69a.

Early in the year 1111 he began preaching in the market-place of ash-Sharaf, attended by a band of disciples known as al-Majādhīb, "the ecstasies", who would frighten the people by calling out the shahāda at the top of their voices. He made himself conspicuous for the severity of the fasting he undertook, as well as by attacking the moral laxity he observed about him and breaking the narquilehs in the coffee-houses.

While visiting the village of al-Mahābisha his followers were placed under arrest by the governor (al-‘āmil), to which Ibrāhīm reacted by killing the naqīb and effecting their release. With them he went to the city of Madūm, where he proclaimed that he was acting for the Promised Imām (al-Mahdī ‘l-Muntazar) whom he had met at the Ka‘ba in Mecca, and on whose orders he was now leading a revolt. His claims excited a superstitious reverence among the nomads and the common people: he had been instructed by al-Mahdī to abolish vice and to warn against adultery, wine-drinking and tobacco-smoking; to compel the dhimmīs to accept Islām and to kill those who refused. He had a large knife, (ghaddāra), which he claimed had been given to him by the Mahdī as a sign of his office, and whenever he pointed it at anyone he would have his innermost sins disclosed. He gained a great following among the common people, and was emboldened to continue his attacks on tobacco, by breaking narquilehs and burning the plants.

The dhimmīs were menaced, and while some embraced Islām, others fled to regions of safety.⁴²

The governor of the region was unable to quell these activities and the Imām, who was ill, could not give it his attention. This allowed Ibrāhīm to extend his power: an army sent out by him sacked the city of Shamsān and killed the qādī al-Ḥusayn b. Nāṣir al-Muhalla. Also slain were al-Ḥusayn al-Maḥbashī and his son; the father having incurred the enmity at the beginning of his mission by urging the governor to place him under arrest. The 'ulamā' of the region were the particular objects of his attacks, and many of them suffered death at his hands. His armies attacked and looted the city of Ḥajja, and at the end of Rajab 1111 the market district of Ḥawra was looted for a period of three days, many of the Indian merchants being killed. The port city of aṣ-Ṣalaba was sacked, its governor slain, the goods of the Turkish merchants confiscated, and about seventy of the Indian traders massacred. From here the army proceeded against az-Zafīr; the governor came out to resist them, but he was defeated and slain in the valley of 'Iṣma. The city was entered, but ^{the} army left quickly, apparently doing nothing more than breaking the narquilehs.⁴³

The Imām, seriously worried by the course the

42. ash-Shudhūr al-'Asjadiyya, ff.70a-71a.

43. ibid., ff.71a-72b.

revolt was taking, sent an army against Ibrāhīm under his son Muḥsin. This entered the region of ash-Sharaf, and at Ṣahāy place near the rebel headquarters at Madūm, it suffered severe defeat. The leaders of the Imām's army were put into chains at Madūm. Ibrāhīm now grew bolder in his assaults: the garrison and most of the population of 'Affār were put to the swords; and although his troops were repulsed at both Ṣīra and Thilā, they did succeed in occupying Mawr and the sea-port of al-Luḥayya. The Indian merchants in the latter city were compelled to accept Islām.⁴⁴

But now the fortunes of Ibrāhīm went into reverse; the commander of his forces, a certain az-Zā'inī, revolted and fighting broke out among the factions in the army. After a few abortive ventures against the now weakened rebel forces, the Imām's army, on 1 Shawwāl 1111, took al-Maḥzūra where they captured Ibrāhīm's father and brother, and twelve days later they inflicted another defeat on him at the village of al-Wajīha. Ibrāhīm fled to Ṣa'da where he was killed by the governor on 1 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1111, and the revolt he led finally suppressed.⁴⁵

44. as-Siḥr al-Mubīn, f.72a.

45. ash-Shudhūr al-'Asjadiyya, ff.70a,76a. as-Siḥr al-Mubīn, f.74b. The details of this puritanical movement have been given here because of the possible influence it may have had on the attitude of later movements such as the Wahhābīs to matters affecting public morality.

During the year for which this revolt lasted, the Imām was forced to maintain amicable relations with the princedoms of South Arabia, and with this object he married the daughter of Sulṭān Qaḥṭān b. Ma'ūda b. al-'Afīf of Yāfi'.⁴⁶ Alliances of a purely political nature were made with Sulṭān Ḥaydar al-Faḍlī and Prince Aḥmad b. Qāsim b. Sha'fal whose support was also useful in containing the Yāfi'īs; and in the territories adjacent to those of al-Faḍlī he designated a certain tribal chief, al-Ḥujayl, as his deputy. These alliances were accompanied by subsidies of money, and in this way he sought to sever the dependence of those three friends on the Yāfi'īs.⁴⁷ In 1113 the Imām sought the sister of Āl Ṣāliḥ ar-Raṣṣās in marriage; after the dowry had been accepted the ar-Raṣṣās family refused to send the bride to the Imām, and it was only in 1114, after two military invasions, that she was finally taken and brought to the Yaman.⁴⁸

Despite his marriage-relationship, Qaḥṭān b. al-'Afīf persisted in his hostility to the Imām, and maintained friendly relations with the latter's rival,

46. The Imām sent extravagant presents to his bride: twenty camels loaded with gold, silver, coral, clothes, daggers and guns. However, this caravan was looted by Prince Aḥmad b. Qāsim b. Sha'fal, in retaliation for which the Yāfi'īs besieged Khirfa, the capital of Ibn Sha'fal. Sayyid 'Abd-al-'Alīm mediated between the two sides, and in the end the Prince returned the caravan to the Yāfi'īs. Cf. Hadiyyat az-Zaman, p. 110.

47. ar-Rawḍaz-Zāhir, f.235b. The two most prominent chiefs of the Yāfi'īs at this time were Qaḥṭān b. al-'Afīf and Ṣāliḥ b. Harhara.

48. as-Siḥr al-Mubīn, ff.87b-88b; al-Jāmi'al-Wajīz, f.160b.

‘Alī b. Aḥmad, the governor of Ṣa‘da. It was with ‘Alī's encouragement that he attacked the Yamanī garrison in Aden in 1114; many of the defenders, including the governor were slain, the wealth of the city looted, and its cannon thrown into the sea. In response to this the Imām sent an army under al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn to restore the security of the region and re-establish Zaydī authority. When it arrived in Lahij after a march of six days, Qaḥṭān returned to his own territories without daring to give battle, and work was begun on repairing the damage that had been caused. Al-‘Abdalī, the chief who had been the Imām's agent among the tribes of the Aden region, was killed because it was suspected that he had shown support to Qaḥṭān.⁴⁹

Having failed to inflict punishment on Qaḥṭān in Aden, the Imām sent another force in this same year against the Yāfi‘ī territories, and to emphasize the importance he attached to this campaign, he placed his own two sons in command and provided them with his most experienced soldiers, including a Turkish Pāshā. At a place called aṣ-Ṣadr the army was attacked by the combined South Arabian forces and suffered a grievous defeat; it fled back into the Yaman, hastily pursued by the enemy, and it was only with the help of the governor of Qa‘ṭaba that the pursuit was halted and the South Arabians compelled

49. as-Sihr al-Mubin, f.90b.

to return to their own regions.⁵⁰

For some reason not disclosed in any of the sources, Qaḥṭān, in Rab. II, 1115, sent a message to the Imām, begging pardon for his misdeeds and offering to restore the spoils he had taken at aṣ-Ṣadr. The Imām accepted this profession of repentance, the sincerity of which was demonstrated when Qaḥṭān sent a force of one thousand five hundred men to help suppress the rebels, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Gharbānī and Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥubaysh, who were leading an insurrection at Baraṭ. His example was followed by other tribal chiefs, and loyal delegations from South Arabia began to arrive in the Yaman seeking the friendship of the Imām. But this new spirit of amity was not without its exceptions. Ṣāliḥ b. Harhara of Yāfi‘ and Aḥmad ar-Raṣṣāṣ of the Banū Arḍ in this same year made an attack on the castle of Juban in the Yaman, but were beaten off by the garrison, having suffered serious losses in men and materials.⁵¹

The opposition of the Ibn Harhara family of Yāfi‘ continued even after the death of Ṣāliḥ in 1116. His son and successor, Nāṣir, maintained the attacks against the Zaydī strongholds in South Arabia: in 1117, assisted by other Yāfi‘īs, he invaded ar-Ra‘ārī, the capital of Laḥij, and succeeded in expelling the garrison from the

50. ibid., f.92a.

51. al-Hijāfī, Nafḥat al-‘Anbar, II, 166a-189b.

citadel of Hammādī for a time. But the action was not decisive, and the Yamanīs succeeded in restoring their hold here.

The fluidity of political alignments in this period is well illustrated by the behaviour of Sultān Qaḥṭān at this time. He withdrew his loyalty from the Imām and laid siege to the Zaydī stronghold of at-Ṭariyya, cutting the roads by which its garrison was supplied.⁵² On hearing of the unsuccessful attempts by Sultān Nāṣir on ar-Ra‘ārī, he decided to try his own hand against the city. The time was opportune, for inside the Yaman the troops of Qa‘ṭaba had revolted against their Zaydī governor and it was unlikely that the Imām could send assistance from this quarter. At first the attack on ar-Ra‘ārī proved successful, many Yamanī soldiers being killed and valuable booty taken; however, when an assault was made on the citadel of Hammādī, the Yafi‘īs encountered a determined resistance and were repulsed with the loss of four hundred men. Hearing that a Yamanī force was on its way against them and had already reached Abyan, it was decided to retire to their own territories.⁵³

The South Arabian princes even extended their

52. Hadiyyat az-Zaman, p.III. While Nāṣir b. Harhara was attacking the Zaydīs in Lahij, his brother ‘Umar was on a mission in the Ḥaḍramawt. At the end of 1116 he led an army of six thousand soldiers against the Zaydīs and their supporter Sultān ‘Umar b. Ja‘far al-Kathīrī.

53. ar-Rawḍ az-Zāhir, f.250a.

hostilities into the Yaman itself. Sultān 'Umar b. Ṣāliḥ b. Harhara⁵⁴ formed an alliance with other Yāfi'īs and a number of neighbouring people⁵⁵ from which an army numbering twenty thousand soldiers was assembled. On 5th Rab. II. 1120, this army entered the Yaman and made a diversionary attack on Qa'ṭaba which deceived the governor into thinking that this city was the object of the invasion. However, the main body of the army proceeded against Ibb, which they reached on 12th Rab. II. The outlying towns of as-Suwayd and al-'Awāfī in the vicinity of the Ba'dān mountain in the region of Maytam were sacked, and the following day Ibb was attacked. Its governor, al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Mahrābī, showed neither the will nor the capability needed to repulse the enemy, and the defence was left to the people. So determined was their resistance, however, that after three days of house-to-house and hand-to-hand fighting in the streets, the attackers did not hold much more than half the city. The markets were looted, especially those of the Banyāns, the non-Muslim Indian merchants; the mosques and the

54. Sultān Nāṣir's name now disappears from the sources. He was probably replaced by his more powerful brother Sultān 'Umar b. Ṣāliḥ when he returned from the Ḥaḍramawt.

55. These were: The Banū ar-Raṣṣās, the Hawshabīs, the people of Dathīna, the Haythamīs, the Āl al-Jidd, the Jumayqānīs, Marād, Bayḥān, and al-Maṣ'abayn.

shrines of the saints were put to flames, among the latter that of ash-Sharīf al-Kāzimī, from which the costly furnishings and books were taken.⁵⁶

The Imām was shocked by this depredation of a city in his own territories, and he immediately sent an army under the joint command of Yaḥyā b. ‘Alī b. al-Mutawakkil Ismā‘īl and an-Nāṣir b. Ḥusayn against the invaders. The leader of the latter, ‘Umar b. Ṣāliḥ b. Harhara, retreated from Ibb before the Imām's army arrived, carrying away over a thousand camel-loads of booty and burning what could not be transported. Returning to their own territories by the way they had come, the route that led by Qa‘ṭaba, they were intercepted by the Yamanī army at the mountain of Barākh in al-‘Adhārib. In the ensuing battle the South Arabians were again victorious; both leaders and other Zaydī notables of Yamanī force were slain, and the baggage-trains were looted. Yamanī sources attribute this defeat to the ignorance of the commanders, who chose to accept battle over a wooded and strong terrain which was unsuitable for manoeuvring on horseback.⁵⁷

Once again the Imām had suffered humiliation, and once again he was determined to seek revenge. Arrangements

56. Bughyat al-Murīd, f.144b, as-Siḥr al-Mubīn, f.108a.

‘Āmir b. ‘Āmir, the author of the Bughyat was present in Ibb during the fighting, and he mentioned the futile efforts he made to find someone to assist him in putting out the fire at the shrine of al-Kāzimī.

57. Bughyat al-Murīd, f.145a.

were made in 1121 with the Yamanī tribes, especially Ḥāshid and Bakīl, to supply an army of ten thousand men to be led by the naqībs, Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥādī b. Ḥubaysh and Nāṣir b. Juzaylān. Ibn Ḥubaysh, apparently, had been accorded a higher authority than Nāṣir, which excited the envy of the latter and prompted him to conspire against his fellow-commander with another naqīb, al-Ḥuraybī. This dissent could only bade ill for the fortunes of the army once it had taken the field.⁵⁸

At al-Mi'sāl (in South Arabian territory) an engagement with the enemy took place, in which the Yamanīs proved superior, killing over a thousand men and so seriously wounding their leader, Sulṭān 'Umar b. Ṣāliḥ b. Harhara, that he died a few days later. The South Arabians, however, soon returned to the offensive, forcing the contingent under Ibn Juzaylān to retreat and penetrating into the centre of the Yamanī army, where they spered panic and consternation. Those who fled were pursued and slain, but many of the Yamanīs chose to lay down their ^{arms} in surrender, on the condition that they be allowed to withdraw to their own homes.

When the survivors of the army retired to their base at Radā', the two generals began accusing one another of being responsible for the defeat. In his anger,

58. ibid., f.145b; as-Siḥr al-Mubīn, f.108b.

Ibn Juzaylān withdrew his troops to a place on the outskirts of the city, called al-Qāni'. The Imām believed that the fault lay with him and, accordingly, sent troops to assist those already in Radā' in arresting him; but on learning of this Ibn Juzaylān fled to his own territories, proceeding by way of Abū Ḥadīd in al-Jawf.⁵⁹

Convinced at last that nothing was to be achieved by force, the Imām now resorted to diplomacy to re-establish his position in South Arabia, and the historian mentions the numerous delegations (wufūd) which came from here to his capital at al-Mawāhib to be entertained and propitiated.⁶⁰ But trouble began to emerge from a new quarter: in 1122, the Sulṭān of 'Umān sent a fleet against Aden, in an effort to cut the trade between it and al-Mukhā. Fortunately, the forces of the Imām were strong enough to repulse this attack.⁶¹

59. as-Sihr al-Mubīn, ff.109b-110b.

60. Bughyat al-Murīd, f.146a.

61. as-Sihr al-Mubīn, f.115a. Although al-'Abdalī, Hadiyyat az-Zaman, 116, mentions that when a French trade mission visited Aden in 1121/1709 they found the port and its hinterland in the hands of the Yāfi'īs, it is clear that he is confused in his dating. The first French mission to Aden took place in 1120/Dec. 1708, but when it found that coffee could not be purchased here, it proceeded on to al-Mukhā bearing a letter of recommendation from the governor of the territory whose name is not indicated. In June 1709 this French party returned to Aden, and were provided with another letter to the governor of the port of al-Mukhā,

(Contd.)

The successive defeats suffered by the Imām's armies must have created the impression of a vulnerability that would account for such a venture on the part of the 'Umānīs, and at home, too, there was increasing disquiet at his conduct of affairs. In Dhū-'l-Qa'da 1124, the Imām's cousin al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad revolted against him supported by many of the leading figures of the Yaman. Al-Ḥusayn, who was at the time living in the city of Shahāra,⁶² had won the respect of the people by the piety he observed in his private life,⁶³ and it was actually while he was returning from Pilgrimage to Mecca that the seeds of his rebellion were planted.

Contd.) Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī, who appears to have been the brother of this official in Aden. It was not until 1123/1711 that the Frenchmen returned to al-Mukhā, at which time they found that the former governor of Aden was now in charge of this port. Ṣāliḥ having been made vezīr by the Imām. Cf. La Roque, A Voyage to Arabia the Happy, pp. 38, 53, 72, 177. This Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī al-Ḥuraybī was a staunch supporter of the Imām al-Mahdī who had been made governor of the Red Sea ports (banādir) in reward for the services he had given against his enemies. His residence was at al-Mukhā, where he maintained a court of great magnificence. He died at ar-Rawḍa in 1135. Cf. Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. al-Mutawakkil, Ikhtišār Anbā' 'z-Zaman, p. 291.

62. Ikhtišār Anbā' 'z-Zaman, p. 267.

63. For example, when his father accepted the province of ar-Rūsasfief, he refused to eat at his table any longer. Cf. al-Jāmi' al-Wajīz, f.164b.

He met Prince 'Izz ad-Dīn al-Qutbī, the governor of al-Mikhlāf as-Sulaymānī, at his capital Abū-'Arīsh, and won the promise of his assistance in the uprising he was planning. Assured of such support, immediately upon arriving at Shahāra he proclaimed himself Imām, with the name al-Manṣūr, and wrote letters to the leaders of the Yamanī tribes inviting them to join him. The governor of Ṣa'da, al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad, who had also been making claim to the Imāmate, abandoned his pretension and supported al-Manṣūr.⁶⁴

The Imām al-Mahdī sent troops to Shahāra to suppress the revolt, at the same time trying to secure the support of the people of the city and the neighbouring tribes by bribes. Al-Ḥusayn fled from here to his supporters at Hajar and Barāghish. From here he went to a place called Qarn al-Wa'ar, where the Sayyid Muḥammad al-Gharbānī, who also had been laying claim to the Imāmate, and other 'ulamā' of the region, paid allegiance to him. He next went to al-Mirkaya, where he established his headquarters and received a delegation from the tribes who were prepared to support his cause. Al-Mahdī's governors in the neighbouring provinces became alarmed at the strength al-Manṣūr was gaining, and the region of ash-Sharaf was the first to fall by default into rebel control when its governor fled.

64. Ikhtīṣār Anbā' 'z-Zaman, p. 268.

Al-Mahdī made desperate efforts to regain the territories which he had lost to his enemy. In 1125, the tribal chief 'Alī al-Aḥmar, whose support he enjoyed, was to retake Ḥubūr and Ḍulayma, but he was forced to retreat in face of the determined resistance of the supporters of al-Ḥusayn. Another large army under the command of the governor of Ṣan'ā, Muḥsin b. al-Ḥusayn, was then despatched against the rival Imām. It reached al-Janābī in the vicinity of the mountain of Shāṭib, and from here began the invasion of the enemy territories. This army, too, suffered defeat at the hand of Yahyā b. al-Qāsim, the brother of al-Manṣūr, who was at that time governor of as-Sawda.

Al-Mahdī ascribed these defeats to the support al-Manṣūr was receiving from al-Quṭbī, and accordingly an army was sent against Abū-'Arīsh, the latter's capital. The place was put under siege, and when efforts to break this encirclement by the governor of Ṣa'da proved in vain, al-Quṭbī surrendered, on condition that his life be spared. However, no sooner did he arrive in the Yaman than he was put to death by order of al-Mahdī.⁶⁵

Encouraged by this victory, the Imām al-Mahdī sent yet another army against al-Manṣūr, but this too met with defeat at a place called Bayt Ibn 'Alā. Much booty was taken and the leaders of the army were imprisoned at Shahāra. Al-Ḥusayn's troops now laid siege to 'Atād,

65. as-Sihr al-Mubīn, f.117a. Ikhtiṣār Anbā' 'z-Zaman, p. 269.

where 'Alī al-Aḥmar and Ibn Nāshir, the supporters of al-Mahdī, were entrenched. The siege lasted three months, at the end of which time 'Alī and Ibn Nāshir capitulated on the undertaking that their lives would be spared but that the fortress would become the property of al-Manṣūr. In the year, 1126, Zayd b. 'Alī, the nephew of the rebel Imām, seized 'Affār, which army forced the submission of Hajja.

Driven to desperate measures, the Imām al-Mahdī began to recruit mercenaries from Africa, which he organized into sixteen squadrons (karādīs). However, this proved no more effective than its predecessors; at its first engagement with the troops of al-Ḥusayn led by Zayd b. 'Alī at Muda⁶⁶ it was defeated with heavy casualties and loss of property. Those that were taken captive had their noses and ears cut off, and were returned to Ṣan'ā; to al-Manṣūr himself the heads of the dead were sent, including that of the commander of the army, Bakhīt Shalkh. Other captives were imprisoned in Shahāra. From here Zayd proceeded against Shibām in Kawkabān, to which siege was laid, while other troops of al-Manṣūr took Maswar.

Military efforts proving of no avail, the Imām al-Mahdī resorted to bribing the supporters of al-Manṣūr to desert. In this way 'Alī b. Hādī Ḥubaysh was prevailed upon to withdraw his assistance; and it was even rumoured

66. as-Siḥr al-Mubīn, f.118a; Ikhtiṣār Anbā' 'z-Zaman, p.271.

that Zayd, the nephew of al-Manṣūr, allowed his troops to be defeated and raised the siege of Shibām in return for money received from al-Mahdī. When Zayd returned to Shahāra, his uncle had him imprisoned, apparently believing these rumours to be true.

In order to be in a position to exploit whatever advantages might accrue from this defeat (or defection) of Zayd, al-Mahdī stationed an army under the command of his son Ibrāhīm at Ṣan‘ā, nearer the area of conflict. Al-Manṣūr responded by sending troops to occupy ‘Affār and Kuḥlān, and pillage their territories; while another army, under the command of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd-al-Qādir, was sent to take ‘Amrān. The governor of the latter city, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, resisted determinedly and in the fighting heavy losses were suffered by both sides. News of this engagement reached Ibrāhīm while he was attacking Ibn Juzaylān, the chief of the tribe of Arḥab at al-Jāhiliyya; and fearing that he might be caught between two fires al-Manṣūr's army fighting at ‘Amrān was victorious, he left his troops to face defeat and fled back alone to Ṣan‘ā. His fears were well-founded; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn unable to defeat the garrison at ‘Amrān returned to join forces with Ibn Juzaylān. Together they attacked the tribes of Hamdān, which had been supporting al-Mahdī, and then marched against Ṣan‘ā and placed it under siege.⁶⁷

67. as-Siḥr al-Mubīn, f.119b; Ikhtiṣār Anbā’ ‘z-Zaman, p. 273.

After a siege of twenty five days, Ibrāhīm bribed the chiefs Ibn Ḥubaysh and Ibn Juzaylān with seventy thousand qurūsh to withdraw to Bi'r al-'Azab and allow him the appearance of having driven off the besieging forces. He was anxious to do something to improve his reputation, for his father had just released al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn from prison and given him command of the Yamanī army in place of Ibrāhīm. Al-Qāsim demanded that the latter be relieved of his position at Ṣan'ā,⁶⁸ and at the head of an army he proceeded thither and defeated the forces of al-Manṣūr at ash-Sharaf as-Sāfil. From here he marched on 'Affār and Kuḥlān. Al-Manṣūr, worried by these reversals, released Zayd b. 'Alī from prison to take command of his armies. In a battle fought at Hajar the troops sent by al-Qāsim met with defeat.⁶⁹

The Imām al-Mahdī, now old and in poor health, was gradually becoming the puppet of his sons and his vezīr Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī al-Ḥuraybī. Fearing the effect this situation would have on his own position, in 1127 al-Qāsim consulted with the 'ulamā' and gained their unanimous

68. Al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad was the nephew of al-Mahdī and had been prominent in the Zaydī campaigns against the dissident tribes and in South Arabia. His record of success in the field aroused the envy of al-Mahdī; and when he refused to attack al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim when his intention to revolt first became known his loyalty was suspect. He was imprisoned in 1120. Cf. Bulūgh al-Umniya, f.3b; Ikhtisār Anbā' 'z-Zaman, pp. 264-267.

69. Ikhtisār Anbā' 'z-Zaman, p. 275.

consent for deposing al-Mahdī and replacing him with al-Manṣūr, from whom he had received the promise of greater authority in the affairs of the Yaman. He behaved as though he were the actual ruler: he branded the horses in the royal stable with his personal device, and even had coins minted in his own name. Al-Manṣūr replaced al-Mahdī in the khuṭba of the Friday service, and supporters of the latter were compelled to transfer their allegiance on pain of punishment.⁷⁰

But many of the Yamanīs still remained loyal to the old Imām, and it was necessary to force them into submission. Al-Manṣūr sent to al-Qāsim in Ṣanʿā the troops who had been fighting for his cause, and thus reinforced, he launched a successful attack on the armies of al-Mahdī at Dawrān and Naqīl Yasīḥ. The survivors of the latter battle fled to their Imām at al-Mawāhib. Al-Ḥusayn, the son of al-Qāsim, engaged another army commanded by the sons of al-Mahdī at Qubātil, but was met by such superior cavalry that he had to abandon the field and shut himself up in the city. His defeat might have been more serious had not al-Mahdī's vezīr, Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥuraybī, advised against besieging the place, and that same night the victorious troops withdrew.⁷¹

70. Bughyat al-Murīd, f.94a; al-Jāmiʿ al-Wajīz, f.165a.

71. Bulūgh al-Umniya, f.7b; Ikhtišār, p. 277. Ṣāliḥ may have been secretly supporting al-Qāsim. When the latter became Imām (under the name of al-Mutawakkil) he appointed him his vezir.

The lower Yaman was at this time governed by the sons of Ishāq b. Ahmad,⁷² and they, too, came to the support of the new Imām, taking such places as al-Makhādir, Bayt al-Faqīh, al-‘Udayn, Shar‘ab, Ibb and ‘Utama. In other parts of the Yaman, too, territories of al-Mahdī were taken by al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn, including such places as Malhān, al-Ḥayma, al-Jabī, Rayma and Yarīm.⁷³ Finally, all that remained to al-Mahdī was his capital, al-Mawāhib, where in Ram. 1127 he was besieged by al-Ḥusayn, the son of al-Qāsim. The city was bravely defended, and at one point during the siege, al-Mahdī sent Sa‘īd Mughlis with money to South Arabia to recruit troops, however, he reached no further than Radā‘ where he was arrested by the governor, who was fearful of having such troops assembled so close to his territories.⁷⁴ After holding out for forty days, during which time all the surrounding villages had been destroyed, al-Mahdī capitulated. He renounced the Imāmate in favour of al-Manṣūr, on the condition that he be granted a territory of his own in the Yaman and a share in the nation's revenues. This was the signal for a general division of the Yaman among the

72. Muḥammad b. Ishāq held the upper Waṣāb, al-Ḥasan b. Ishāq the lower Waṣāb and Yahyā b. Ishāq Ta‘iz.

73. Ikhtisār, p. 278. Yarīm was later re-captured by the troops of al-Mahdī, with much booty and killing.

74. Bulūgh al-Umniya, f.8b; Ikhtisār, 279; as-Siḥr al-Mubīn, f.124a.

leaders of the victorious army.⁷⁵

Once the victory had been assured, al-Qāsim refused to honour the promises that had been made to al-Mahdī to induce his surrender. It was felt that if he were allowed to control such wealth he would always be a potential menace to the security of the throne. The five sons of Ishāq b. Aḥmad - Muḥammad, al-Ḥasan, Aḥmad, Yaḥyā and 'Abd-Allāh - opposed al-Qāsim in this, arguing that it would be dishonourable to break a solemn pledge. But probably an equally important reason for the bad feeling between the two parties was al-Qāsim's attempts to persuade the new Imām to deprive the sons of Ishāq of their territories; he did not succeed in this beyond having Bayt al-Faqīh taken from Yaḥyā. Because al-Manṣūr was not prepared to do as al-Qāsim wished in this matter, distrust and suspicion arose between them.⁷⁶

The sons of Ishāq were not prepared to allow the treatment of their brother Yaḥyā to go unavenged: they attacked al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim at Ibb, and when this proved unsuccessful, 'Abd-Allāh b. Ishāq forced the

75. Al-Qāsim received al-Ḥudayda, Ḥays, Laḥij, Aden, al-Mukkā and Ṣan'ā with its neighbouring regions. The new Imām took for himself al-Luḥayya, Abū-'Arīsh, Ḥajja, 'Affār, ash-Sharafayn and as-Sawda. The sons of Ishāq were allowed to retain their former territories in the lower Yaman.

76. Bulūgh al-Umniya, f.9a; Ikhtišār, p. 280.

governor of Jabala to come over to their side for a while. Al-Ḥusayn now took the offensive and inflicted a defeat on the sons at Udhun;⁷⁷ but they, in turn, won victory at al-ʿUdayn and returned to pillage Jabala once again. Al-Qāsim now sent a large army against them, led by al-Ḥusayn b. Yaḥyā al-Akhfash and al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad ash-Shāmī, the former leading a detachment to al-Janad, and the latter going with his troops to al-ʿUdayn.⁷⁸

While this was going on, al-Qāsim made further attempts to induce al-Manṣūr to deprive the sons of Ishāq of their territories. Again he met with refusal, and in fact the Imām sent messages to the tribes in al-Qāsim's territories, urging them to attack him. As a consequence of this overt hostility, al-Qāsim, after consulting with the leading men of Ṣanʿā, deposed al-Manṣūr and had himself proclaimed Imām under the title, al-Mutawakkil ʿalā ʾllāh (Dhūʾl-Qaʿda 1128).⁷⁹

The army sent by the new Imām under the leadership of al-Akhfash against al-Ḥasan b. Ishāq, who was there at Taʿiz, suffered defeat and was forced to retreat to Ibb, a thousand of its men having been taken captive. It was pursued here, and subjected to another defeat.

77. Riyād al-ʿAsjad, ff. 33b, 73b.

78. Ikhtišār, p. 282.

79. Ikhtišār, p. 282; Bulūgh al-Umniya, f.11a; Riyād al-ʿAsjad, 26a-28a.

Another of the Imām's armies under the command of ash-Shāmī was more successful; he defeated 'Abd-Allāh b. Ishāq at al-Ḥuṣānayn and took him prisoner, and in Ṣafar 1129 at Tabaha (in Shar'ab) al-Ḥasan b. Ishāq met the same fate, losing three hundred men and himself being taken prisoner along with his advisers and sent to the Imām, who imprisoned them at Ṣan'ā.⁸⁰ Ash-Shāmī occupied Ta'iz, from where he proceeded against Muḥammad b. Ishāq at Waṣāb. The latter capitulated without offering resistance, and consequently when he was brought to the Imām was not imprisoned like his brothers. Next, Yahyā b. Ishāq at 'Utama was attacked; he resisted at first but was finally obliged to surrender, and when taken before the Imām was cast into prison.⁸¹

With most of the sons of Ishāq in prison, peace was restored to the southern parts of the Yaman, but the deposed Imām, al-Manṣūr, continued his resistance in the Tihāma. Defeats were inflicted on the armies of al-Mutawakkil at al-Ghānimiyya and aḍ-Ḍuḥā, but in the battle at the latter city al-Manṣūr's general 'Alī b. Hādī Hubaysh was slain and this was to allow the Imām to expand his control over the region. Most of the commanders of al-Manṣūr's army now defected including his nephew Zayd b. 'Alī - and the tribes of the Yaman transferred their

80. Bulūgh al-Umniya, ff.23a-24a; Ikhtiṣār, p. 282; Riyāḍ al-'Asjad, f.77a.

81. Ikhtiṣār, p. 283.

allegiance to the new Imām.⁸²

These internal wars in the Yaman gave the South Arabians an opportunity for attacking the only remaining Zaydī garrisons in their territories, at Lahij and Aden. In one of the Rabi'is of 1129, the Yāfi'ī Sulṭān Sayf b. Qaḥṭān b. al-'Afīf, at the head of an army of 20,000 men had expelled the Zaydīs from these places,⁸³ but once the affairs of the Yaman were resolved, the Imām had little difficulty in recovering them, and they were reinforced by the former supporters of the Imām al-Mahdī who were sent here in 1131, a year after the death of their leader.⁸⁴ The region, however, remained disturbed: the Ḥawshabī tribe had cut the roads leading to Lahij, and were acting defiantly. They were only forced into submission - or rather, forced to return to their mountain strongholds - in Muḥarram 1133, when Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim, the son of the Imām who was at that time governor of

82. as-Siḥr al-Mubīn, f.126a; Ikhtiṣār, p. 283; Bulūgh al-Umniya, f.14a. When al-Manṣūr died in 1131, his brother al-Ḥasan laid claim to the Imāmate; but he was dissuaded from this pretension by al-Mutawakkil and accepted a fief in the lower Waṣāb.

83. Bughyat al-Murīd, f.88b; Riyad al-'Asjad, f.33b.

84. Ikhtiṣār, p. 287. Al-Mahdī died in Ram. 1130 while being besieged in his stronghold of al-Mawāhib by al-Mutawakkil's troops. Upon his death, his followers offered their submission. Cf. as-Siḥr al-Mubīn, f.127b. This latter work ends with the year 1130.

Ta'iz, passed through the territory on his way to Zayla".⁸⁵ Again, in 1134, trouble broke out, when the South Arabians attacked 'Abd-Allāh b. Ṭālib, the governor of Qa'ṭaba in the Yaman, whom they accused of levying unjust taxes (maks) on them⁸⁶ and withholding part of the subsidies they were receiving from the Imām. After some initial successes gained through the expectedness of their assault, they were repulsed and pursued back to their own territories, losing much of their belongings in the retreat.⁸⁷

At the end of 1134, the redoubtable tribal chief of Dahma, 'Alī b. Qāsim al-Aḥmar, who had taken advantage of the internecine struggle in the Imām's family to enlarge his territories, entered into open warfare against the Imām. His reputation as a warrior was already well-known from the battles he had fought against the two deposed Imāms al-Mahdī and al-Manṣūr, as well as against al-Mutawakkil himself.⁸⁸ The latter had the

85. Bulūgh al-Umniya, f.39a. Aḥmad had been appointed governor of Ta'iz in 1131 by his father, the Imām al-Mutawakkil.

86. It was probably the South Arabian contingents in the governor's army who were subjected to these taxes.

87. Ikhtišār, p. 291.

88. During the Imāmate of al-Mahdī, he had with the support of some elements of the tribe of Ḥāshid, attacked 'Izz ad-Dīn al-Quṭbī, the governor of ash-Sharaf, and taken him prisoner, only releasing after the payment of a ransom. The fact that al-Mahdī had this time imprisoned his capable and energetic nephew, al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn, allowed al-Aḥmar to behave thus with impunity. He

support of the tribe of Khawlān in this new challenge to his authority, and with his armies then strengthened he was able to overcome the followers of al-Aḥmar at both as-Sūda and ash-Sharaf, and regain part of the lands that had been usurped. The Imām's son, al-Ḥusayn, made the city of Khamir a base for his operations, and from here for over a year he directed attacks against al-Aḥmar, seizing certain of his lands. Al-Aḥmar was disposed to capitulate, but the terms which al-Ḥusayn wanted to impose were so humiliating that he could not accept them, and the state of war dragged on until 1136. At this time al-Ḥusayn was prepared to be more lenient and reasonable in the terms of the armistice for a revolt had broken out in Ṣan'ā which required the presence of the troops under his command.

This revolt against the Imām had been fermented by the leading figures of Āl al-Qāsim and the former governor of Kawkabān, Muḥammad b. al al-Ḥusayn, who

Contd.) supported al-Mahdī against the aggression of the claimant to the Imāmate, al-Manṣūr; but, 1130, he took the side of the latter in his struggles with al-Mutawakkil. In this he was to be disappointed; his territories around Ṣabra were invaded and for a time he was forced to flee from place to place to avoid being arrested. During the Imām's wars with the sons of Ishāq, he was able to regain control of his former territories, and now felt strong enough to adopt a hostile posture. Cf. Riyād al-ʿAsjad, ff.96a-97a, Ikhtiṣār, pp. 284-285.

were aggrieved because a man, ash-Shajanī, not to their liking had been appointed to collect the taxes which had been levied on their lands.⁸⁹ They left Ṣan'ā and took refuge with the tribe of Arḥab, on the advice of 'Alī Radmān, one of the Imām's former advisers. In this place of refuge they proclaimed al-Mutawakkil's cousin, Muḥammad b. Ishāq, to be the new Imām. It was at this juncture that al-Mutawakkil recalled the troops who were engaged in the war with al-Aḥmar. The Imām went in person to the region of Arḥab, hoping to persuade the rebels to return to Ṣan'ā, and, indeed, 'Alī Radmān did relent when the new taxes which had sparked off the trouble were abolished. The ringleaders refused to be persuaded, but instead confirmed their oath of allegiance to Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who from his headquarters in the city of Shāṭib was sending letters to the chiefs of the various tribes soliciting their support against al-Mutawakkil.⁹⁰

89. Ikhtiṣār, pp. 290-293; Riyāḍ al-'Asjad, ff. 99a, 99b, 100b, 103a. This Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn had been appointed governor of Ḥajja by the Imām al-Mahdī, but he transferred his loyalty to al-Manṣūr. When the latter was defeated by al-Mutawakkil, he again changed sides and was rewarded by being appointed governor of Kawkabān. The new Imām, quite naturally, could not feel secure about a person of such volatile loyalty, so in 1133 he lured him to Ṣan'ā and had him put in prison. He was not released until 1135. Cf. Riyāḍ al-'Asjad, ff. 97b-106a; Ikhtiṣār, p. 288.

90. Ikhtiṣār, pp. 291-294.

The Imām's son, al-Ḥusayn, now went out to the offensive against the rebels and within one month had defeated all of them. However, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn refused to accept defeat; he gathered a new force from the tribesmen of Arahāb, intending to capture Kawkabān, while the anti-Imām, Muḥammad b. Ishāq, went to al-Maghārib to seek support from the tribes living there. In an attack on the city of Shibām in Kawkabān, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn was repulsed and shortly afterward taken prisoner with seventy of his followers at a place called Bayt 'Azz. He was brought in irons to Ṣan'ā, from where he was sent by sea to the prison of Zayla'.⁹¹

When events had taken this turn, Muḥammad b. Ishāq left Shāṭib for Zafār and established his headquarters. 'Alī al-Aḥmar went secretly to 'Affār, from where he proposed to support Muḥammad against the Imām. Once again al-Ḥusayn was appointed to suppress these rebels; but because his father refused him the supplies he asked for, he refused to go and instead returned in anger to his province in Kawkabān. Because of this, the Imām felt obliged to make peace with Muḥammad in 1137, and as part of the treaty transferred Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn from his prison in Zayla' to Ṣan'ā.⁹²

91. Riyād ad-'Asjad, ff.106b, 107a, 111b, 115b.

92. Ikhtiṣār, p. 294; Riyād al-'Asjad, f.118a. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn was released from prison in 1139 when al-Manṣūr al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim became Imām after the death of his father.

No sooner had the Imām concluded this treaty with his cousin than he began to feel uneasy about his nephew, ‘Abd-Allāh b. Ṭālib, the governor of Qa‘ṭaba whom he suspected of plotting against him. Moreover, he had been in dispute over matters of territory with the Imām's son Aḥmad, at that time governor of Ta‘iz. Rumours began to circulate that ‘Abd-Allāh and the Imām's other son al-Ḥusayn, the governor of Kawkabān, were planning a coup d'etat with the object of overthrowing the latter's father. In 1138 ‘Abd-Allāh was attacked by the troops sent against him by Aḥmad under the command of Yaḥyā b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad. In desperation ‘Abd-Allāh appealed to the Yāfi‘īs for help, and the Sulṭān Qaḥṭān b. ‘Umar b. Harhara was only too ready to oblige, since this would allow him to carry on hostilities against the Imām within the Yaman itself. Once he had crossed the frontier and made junction with the troops of ‘Abd-Allāh, they together fought a battle against Aḥmad's army at al-Aḥdhūf and inflicted a severe defeat on it, Yaḥyā himself being taken prisoner. Those of the vanquished army who survived had their lives spared, but their property was divided among the Yāfi‘īs as booty.⁹³

When word of this reversal reached him, Aḥmad hastened to Ta‘iz in order to protect it in case ‘Abd-Allāh should try to take it. The area was strengthened by an army sent by the Imām, who also ordered the

93. Riyād al-‘Asjad, f.124a.

governors of 'Amār and Radā' to bring their troops thither. The loyalist forces were now strong enough to take the offensive, and accordingly besieged 'Abd-Allāh in Qa'taba. The city had not the provisions to hold out for an extended period, and before long 'Abd-Allāh appealed to the Imām for pardon, pointing out that the war had been forced on him by Ahmad and that all throughout the so-called revolt the name of the Imām had always been mentioned in the Friday khuṭba. The Imām agreed to his request and the siege was lifted.⁹⁴

In this same year - 1138 - the Imām was faced with another revolt. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn of the Āl al-Qāsim family set up in opposition to him in Hūth, where he was the rallying point for other discontented elements in the region. The situation was further exasperated by al-Aḥmar who seized on this opportunity to break off his armistice with the Imām, offering refuge in his territories to all others who were in opposition. The suspicions which the Imām held about the loyalty of his own son, al-Ḥusayn, were confirmed when he invited 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn to leave Hūth and come to 'Amrān in his own territories where he would be safer.

Menacing though these acts of defiance were, the greatest danger presented itself in the revolt of the tribe of Arḥab. This tribe had previously accepted into

94. Riyāḍ al-'Asjad, f.124a; Ikhtišār, pp. 295-296.

its territories the refugees from Ṣanʿā, and had suffered retaliation from the Imām's army because of this. Having been defeated, they were no longer considered dangerous, and, therefore, on the 23 Ramaḍān 1138 the Imām allowed two thousand of them to enter Ṣanʿā and entertained them generously. Their intention, however, was to exact vengeance for the humiliation they had experienced by assassinating the Imām. The attempt was made one Friday in Shawwāl after the noon prayers when the Imām was reviewing his troops, but it miscarried. The bullets fired at the Imām killed his horse and two bystanders, but he himself escaped. At once his army was set against these treacherous tribesmen, of whom one hundred were slain, and many wounded and captured. The survivors fled back to their own lands.

Arḥab responded to this defeat by trying to enlist the help (nikfa) of other Yamanī tribes in a general revolt. Al-Aḥmar and Ibn Juzaylān, the leader of Dhī Muḥammad in Baraṭ, responded frankly, and joined Arḥab with their troops. Towards the end of Ṣafar 1139, they sacked ar-Rawḍa for three days, this city was especially vulnerable, for the Imām had withdrawn its garrison to Ṣanʿā as a precaution against an attack upon himself. But when news of this depredation of his territories reached him, he sent an army out against the rebels. It encountered and defeated some of the supporters of the insurgent tribes on the hill of Raslān, but when it arrived at ar-Rawḍa it found that the enemy had already

fled. It continued its pursuit, and finally made contact with the rebel tribes at Madhbaḥ, where several inconclusive battles were fought. Far from suffering defeat, these tribes were now proposing to invade al-Maghārib, and it was only by the intervention of the Imām's son al-Ḥusayn, the governor of 'Amrān, that they were persuaded to abandon plan and returned to their own territories.⁹⁵

The Imām al-Mutawakkil, after a lifetime spent in struggle, died on 22 Ramaḍān 1139,⁹⁶ and his death was to be the signal for a new civil war. The South Arabian tribe of al-Ḥawāshib crossed into the Yaman in Shawwāl of the same year, under the command of an 'arīf named Ḥanash, and reached a point not distant from Ta'iz, which was under the governorship of Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim, the son of the late Imām. Aḥmad had been supervising the governors of Aden and Lahij, and it may have been thought that by attacking him they would cause the Zaydī grip on their territories to slacken. A fierce battle took place, in which the Ḥawshabī force were overcome, though, in fact, casualties on both sides were said to be light. In returning to their own territories, they looted whatever they came upon on the road. Aḥmad did not give pursuit, but returned to Ta'iz.⁹⁷

Al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim succeeded his father as Imām,

95. Riyāḍ al-'Asjad, ff.119b-124a; Ikhtisār, pp. 297-8.

96. Ithaf al-Anfās, f.4a.

97. Riyāḍ al-'Asjad, f.139a, seems to imply that the Ḥawāshib were using stones as weapons against the bullets of the Yamanīs. Certain texts use Ḥawshabī as nisba of al-Ḥawāshib.

choosing at first the laqab an-Nāṣir, later to be changed to al-Manṣūr.⁹⁸ He was given the oath of allegiance by the leading men of Ṣan'ā on 6 Shawwāl 1139, and among those who acclaimed him were the four sons of his uncle, Ishāq b. Aḥmad. The fifth son, Muḥammad, however, refused to take the oath of allegiance, and instead proclaimed himself Imām in the city of Zāfār, choosing the same laqab, an-Nāṣir.⁹⁹ This was to signal a new civil war in the Yaman. The four sons of Ishāq withdrew the allegiance they had sworn and went over to their brother's camp, and on the 5th Dhū'l-Qa'da 1139 they persuaded the tribes of Ḥāshid and Bakīl who were located in Bi'r al-'Azab to join them. Ḥasan b. Ishāq induced the tribe of Arḥab to supply the cause of his brother, and Yahyā b. Ishāq occupied Bayt al-Faqīh, after killing its governor and some men of the garrison. Yahyā then appointed his brother Aḥmad governor of al-Jabī, while Muḥammad, the pretender to the Imāmate, delegated his son Ismā'īl to occupy Rayma and upper and lower Waṣāb. Rebel troops also took the seaport of al-Mukhā without resistance from its garrison; al-Ḥaymatayn and Ḥāz, too, submitted, but Dawrān chose to remain neutral under the leadership

98. On 5th Rajab 1040, he won a victory over the pretender to the Imāmate, Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who had also chosen the laqab an-Nāṣir. Thereafter, al-Ḥusayn chose to be known as al-Manṣūr.

99. The four sons of Ishāq who took the oath of allegiance had been released from prison by the Imām al-Mutawakkil shortly before his death.

of Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mahdī.¹⁰⁰

The governor of Qa'ṭaba, 'Abd-Allāh b. Tālib, took advantage of this war between al-Manṣūr and an-Nāṣir to extend his territories, taking Jabala, Ibb, al-Makhādir, and the region of Ḥubaysh, capturing at the same time the governor of these territories, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad. The Imām al-Manṣūr sent an army against him, but it was defeated by 'Abd-Allāh at the city of Yarīm. As a result of this defeat, one of the two leaders who had been in command of the army, a certain al-Baraṭī defected to the side of 'Abd-Allāh, who now went on to occupy Dhamār and Radā'.

Having failed to retain his lost territories from 'Abd-Allāh by force, the Imām al-Manṣūr resorted to political means. He sent a mission to him under the leadership of Aḥmad b. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ash-Shāmī and 'Abd-al-Qādir an-Nazīlī. This proved no more fruitful; an-Nazīlī was actually thrown into prison. The Imām an-Nāṣir was now actively encouraging 'Abd-Allāh to attack and occupy Ṣan'ā where the Imām al-Manṣūr was in residence. This 'Abd-Allāh refused to do. With all the loss of territory he was suffering, al-Manṣūr still had the consolation that his brother Aḥmad was firmly in control of Ta'iz, al-Ḥujarriyya, al-Janad and Shar'ab.¹⁰¹

100. Ithāf al-Anfās, ff.4b-5b.

101. Ithāf al-Anfās, f.5b; Ikhtiṣār, p. 288.

The civil war among the members of the Āl al-Qāsim family also offered an opportunity to ‘Alī al-Aḥmar to break off the armistice he had made with the Imām al-Manṣūr. He declared his support for the Imām an-Nāṣir, thinking that he might thereby be in a better position for bargaining with al-Manṣūr. He invited the latter to meet him at ‘Aṣur (near Ṣan‘ā) in Muḥarram 1040 so that they might discuss the matter of the Imāmate, his proposal being that al-Manṣūr should renounce the office in favour of his cousin an-Nāṣir, and accept in return Ṣan‘ā and its territories, ‘Amrān, and the seaports of al-Luḥayya and al-Ḥudayda. The encounter was to be fatal for ‘Alī; he was lured into a tent when four followers of al-Manṣūr were lying in wait for him and ruthlessly struck down. His severed head was sent back to Ṣan‘ā, where it was received with general celebration.¹⁰²

This murder infuriated the family of al-Aḥmar and certain Yamanī tribes, and an-Nāṣir took advantage of this anger to induce them to give support to his cause. The Āl al-Aḥmar secured the support of the tribes of Ḥāshid, Bakīl and Hamdān, while at the same time al-Ḥasan b. Ishāq, the brother of an-Nāṣir, won over the tribe of Arḥab. Other sections of Hamdān and the al-Juthām branch of Bakīl (led by Qāsim Shamsān) gave their support to another brother ‘Abd-Allāh b. Ishāq. All these joined

102. Ithāf al-Anfās, f.7b; Riyāḍ al-‘Asjad, f.146a.

an-Nāṣir moving to attack Ṣanʿā, and on the way several battles were fought with the forces of al-Manṣūr, the fiercest taking place at Ḥadda where Qāsim Shamsān and thirteen of his men were slain. Their heads were cut off and exhibited on the gates of Ṣanʿā.¹⁰³

Ṣanʿā was kept under siege, and at the same time in the month of Ṣafar, other loyals of an-Nāṣir took the city of ʿAmrān. This inspired such fear in the region that the cities of Kawkabān, Thilā, Ḥajja, az-Zafīr and Shahāra capitulated without a struggle. The territory left to al-Manṣūr was now reduced to Ṣanʿā and its environs.¹⁰⁴

Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, the former governor of Ibb who had been driven from there by ʿAbd-Allāh b. Ṭālib, a supporter of an-Nāṣir, was instigated by al-Manṣūr into preparing an attack on Radāʿ. He sought assistance from the chiefs of Yāfiʿ, but only Sultān Qaḥṭān b. ʿUmar b. Harhara ~~responded~~, ~~others~~ refused to become involved. Although Ibrāhīm was not strong enough to face ʿAbd-Allāh in the field, he did engage to capture Radāʿ for a while and to turn it over to the looting of his Yāfiʿī troops; but when word came that ʿAbd-Allāh b. Ṭālib was proceeding from Ibb against him, he beat a hasty retreat to the Yāfiʿī strongholds in South Arabia. When he could not

103. Ikhtiṣār, p. 299; Ithāf al-Anfās, ff.7a.-8b.

104. Ithāf al-Anfās, f.6a.

secure any further support for his war against ‘Abd-Allāh, it was left to the Yāfi‘ī leader Qaḥṭān b. ‘Umar b. Harhara to effect a reconciliation between the two Zaydī leaders, and as a result of this Ibrāhīm returned to the city of al-Mawāhib in the Yaman.¹⁰⁵

Although Ṣan‘ā was besieged for four and a half months, access to the city was not completely severed, and the people could move in and out through the Gate of the Yaman. Despairing of forcing al-Manṣūr into submission in this way, the leaders of an-Nāṣir's army thought it best to negotiate an end to the hostilities. An agreement was reached with al-Manṣūr whereby he would be given the city of Ṣan‘ā and its environs, al-Ḥaymatayn, the ports of al-Ḥudayda and al-Luḥayya, Bayt al-Faqīh az-Zaydiyya and a quarter (rub‘) of the port of al-Mukhā, he on his part, took the oath of allegiance to an-Nāṣir and allowed his name to be mentioned with his own in the Friday khutba. This being concluded, the siege of Ṣan‘ā was raised.¹⁰⁶

When, however, al-Manṣūr sent his governors to take control of the territories he had been accorded, it became obvious that an-Nāṣir had no intention of carrying out his part of the agreement. He had given his own governors no instructions to hand over their authority to al-Manṣūr's

105. Ikhtišār, p. 300.

106. Ithāf al-Anfās, f.8b; al-Jāmi‘ al-Wajīz, f.168a.

deputies, many of whom were prevented from reaching their destinations. An-Nāṣir's son Ismā'īl who was at that time governor of al-Mukhā, acting on orders from his father, actually imprisoned the man whom al-Manṣūr had sent to rule his quarter of the city. Infuriated by this bad faith, al-Manṣūr had an-Nāṣir's name removed from the Friday khutba and forbade that it appear on the coinage. Mention is made of a meeting of the two cousins at Shibām in an effort to resolve their difficulties, but even if it did take place it failed in its purpose, for al-Manṣūr resolved to renew the war.¹⁰⁷

On 5 Rajab 1140, an army led by al-Manṣūr inflicted a defeat on an-Nāṣir outside Shibām, forcing the latter to retire into the city. On the 28 Rajab an entry into Shibām was effected, but here the enemy was able to fight from the shelter of the houses, and al-Manṣūr was forced to admit defeat and return to Ṣan'ā.¹⁰⁸

This failure by al-Manṣūr encouraged an-Nāṣir to plan another siege of Ṣan'ā, and orders were sent to his supporters to move against the city. His brother al-Ḥasan b. Ishāq mustered an army from several tribes and

107. The Ikhtisār Anbā' 'z-Zaman, p. 300 mentions this meeting between the two Imāms, while the anonymous author of the Ithāf al-Anfās, 9b, a source hostile to the sons of Ishāq, says that al-Manṣūr sent a delegation to represent him in the negotiations.

108. Ithāf al-Anfās, f.10a.

encamped with it at Tayba at the end of Sha'bān 1040.¹⁰⁹ Here, however, he came under attack from the tribe of Yām which was supporting al-Manṣūr, and as his brother was unable to send him reinforcements and supplies he was unable to proceed to Ṣan'ā. Another brother, Yaḥyā b. Ishāq, the governor of Bayt al-Faqīh, accompanied by his son, al-Muṭahhar, who had joined him with a body of men from al-Mukhā, also failed to reach Ṣan'ā. When his army arrived at Qalād Hudūr it was engaged by the troops of al-Manṣūr, and after a battle that lasted for three days, on 4th Dhū 'l-Qa'da, Yaḥyā was defeated and with his son, sent to Ṣan'ā where they were imprisoned.¹¹⁰

'Abd-Allāh b. Tālib, the governor of Qa'taba, and ally of an-Nāṣir was on his way to Ṣan'ā at the head of an army when news of Yaḥyā's defeat reached him. He halted his progress and encamped at Ghaymān, where negotiations were held between himself and al-Manṣūr; the outcome of which was that he took the oath of

109. When al-Ḥasan b. Ishāq arrived at Tayba he compelled the Banū Makram to evacuate their homes to provide quarters for his followers. This provoked the resentment of the tribe of Hamdān, which looked to Banū Makram as their spiritual leaders. The tribe of Yām, too, was offended by this act, and their anger was exploited by al-Manṣūr. Their support is said to have been decisive in turning the tide of the struggle against an-Nāṣir, Ikhtiṣār, p. 301.

110. Ikhtiṣār, p. 301.

allegiance and, in return, was confirmed in the rule of a part of the territories he then held. Together they went to Ṣan'ā for a day of celebration, but no sooner had they entered the city than al-Manṣūr had 'Abd-Allāh seized and thrown into prison (10 Dhū 'l-Qa'da 1040).

Fortune had deserted the sons of Ishāq: Aḥmad, who was to replace the imprisoned Yahyā as governor of Bayt al-Faqīh, was captured by the troops of al-Manṣūr as soon as he entered the city and sent to Ṣan'ā to join his brother and nephew in prison. 'Abd-Allāh b. Ishāq was apprehended by the people of 'Amrān and he, too, was sent to the gaol of Ṣan'ā. Al-Ḥasan b. Ishāq, having taken refuge in Thilā after the defeat of Yahyā, was seized by the people of the city and sent to al-Manṣūr, who added him to his collection of prisoners.¹¹¹

Fearful for his own safety, an-Nāṣir left Shibām for Kawkabān on the 11th Dhū 'l-Qa'da, accompanied by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn and the whole population of the city. At the time of the evacuation, the people of Shibām are said to have removed all the wooden frames from the windows and doors of their houses. The empty city was occupied by other tribes loyal to an-Nāṣir, from where

111. Ithāf al-Anfās, ff.13b-15a; Ikhtišār, p. 303; al-Jāmi' al-Wajīz, f.168a.

they launched attacks against Hajar, the people of which place had previously supported al-Manṣūr. In these raids they killed many people and captured 1800 head of cattle.¹¹²

Al-Manṣūr's armies now set about regaining those other territories which still remained in the hands of the enemy. In the Tihāma, the port of al-Luḥayya was taken and al-Mukhā placed under siege. The governor of the latter was an-Nāṣir's son, Ismā'īl, who, when the city finally fell on 27th Rab. I, 1141, was also sent to join his uncles in prison in Ṣan'ā.

A few days before the fall of al-Mukhā, another army was sent by al-Manṣūr against Kawkabān. After overcoming the resistance of the tribe of Ḍabyān, the city was finally reached and besieged. The confinement lasted four months, eventually, it capitulated on the terms that an-Nāṣir was to be given the territories of Upper Waṣāb, Ḥays and ar-Rūs, the treaty being signed on 28 Jam. I, 1141. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn, the staunch supporter of an-Nāṣir, was appointed governor of Kawkabān.¹¹³

In South Arabia, only Laḥij and Aden were at this time subjected to the Zaydī Imāms. In Laḥij it had become customary that a local chief be appointed to act as a liaison between the Zaydī governor and the people, and at this time the post was held by a certain 'Alī

112. Ithāf al-Anfās, f.15b.

113. Ikhtisār, p. 303; Ithāf al-Anfās, f.16a.

b. 'Abd-Allāh as Salāmī from the village of al-Majhafa. When he objected to the injustices and cruelties of the governor, he was deposed and finally killed. This infuriated the people of the area, who themselves then chose Faḍl b. 'Alī b. Sāliḥ as-Salāmī (al-'Abdalī) to be their representative, and the governor, having already had two of his own nominees rejected, felt obliged to agree to this.¹¹⁴

This Faḍl was a man of some intelligence, who saw the popular indignation aroused by the murder of 'Alī b. 'Abd-Allāh as affording an opportunity for delivering Lahij from the Zaydīs. He made treaties with the neighbouring Sultāns and Princes who had already gained independence, one of which was with Sultān Sayf b. Qaḥṭān b. al-'Afīf of Yāfi' in 1141. The terms of this pact stipulated that once Aden and Lahij had been freed, half of the revenues of the port would be paid each year to Sultān Sayf.¹¹⁵ Having gained the support of such a powerful ally, Faḍl felt himself in a position to adopt independent attitude towards the governor, though as yet he was not able to declare an all-out revolt, for

114. Luqmān, Ḥamza Alī, Ta'rīkh 'Adan wa Janūb al-Jazīrat al-'Arabiyya; p.106; Hadiyyat az-Zaman, p. 124.

115. Playfair, R.L. History of Arabia, p. 159; Luqmān, Ta'rīkh Adan wa Janūb al-Jazīrat al-'Arabiyya, p. 161. Playfair gives Faḍl's name as: Faḍl b. 'Alī b. Faḍl b. Sāliḥ b. Sālim, but the author of Hadiyyat az-Zaman corrects this to: Faḍl b. 'Alī b. Sāliḥ b. Salām.

at this time the Yāfi'īs were still pursuing their war inside the Yaman. In 1144, for example, they launched an attack on Qa'ṭaba itself, in which the city was entered and looted.¹¹⁶

In the event, Faḍl did not have to depend on Yāfi'ī assistance to achieve his aims. The civil wars in the Yaman among the members of the Āl al-Qāsim and the incessant tribal revolts against the Imām's authority, weakened the position of the governors of Laḥij and Aden to a degree that invited insurrection. In Dhū 'l-Qa'da 1144 he attacked and defeated the garrison of Laḥij; and after securing the region, he turned against Aden, whose governor he vanquished outside the walls of the city.¹¹⁷

In response to these acts of hostile defiance, the Imām collected an army from the various regions under his control, designating the Rubāṭ al-Ma'āyin region lying between Jabala and Ibb as its mustering place. In addition, he ordered the emīr Sunbul b. Ṣādiq to bring these contingents from Hamdān and Banū Ḥushaysh; while his brother Aḥmad, the governor of Ta'iz, sent a body of five hundred men under the command of Aḥmad al-Wādi'ī. This constituted, the Zaydī army set out for Laḥij in Ṣafar 1145.

116. Ikhtisār, p. 306.

117. Hadiyyat az-Zaman, p. 118, repeated from Vol. III of al-Barāhīn al-Muḍī'a by Sharaf ad-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Ahnūmī.

On approach of this large force, Faḍl al-‘Abdalī thought it wise to sue for peace; he surrendered Laḥij and Aden without a fight and agreed to pay a fine of 15,000 riyals for his misbehaviour.¹¹⁸ The troops under Aḥmad al-Wādi‘ī returned to their own territories - apparently they could not endure the climate in the South - but Sunbul remained as governor of the two regions, reinforced by new contingents sent by the Imām.

In Rajab 1145, Faḍl decided to invoke his alliance with Sayf b. Qaḥṭān b. al-‘Afīf, the Sultān of Yāfi‘.¹¹⁹ The latter, still anxious to secure the revenues of the port of Aden, agreed to lend his support in a new movement against the Zaydīs,¹²⁰ and together they went to Laḥij at the head of an army. The garrison of the town was placed under siege, but it managed to fight its way out and inflict a defeat on the Yāfi‘īs. Discouraged by this reversal in his first engagement, Sultān Sayf withdrew to Abyan, having first looted the vicinity of

118. This was later reduced to 10,000 riyals, when Faḍl protested to the Imām that he could not pay the original amount.

119. According to South Arabian custom, he slaughtered sheep in the market-places of Yāfi‘ as a sign that he was seeking help against his enemies.

120. The al-Barāhīn al-Muḍī’a, a Zaydī source, shows this as the object of Sultān Sayf. However, Aḥmad al-‘Abdalī, the author of Hadiyyat az-Zaman, denies that Sayf was to be given the whole of Aden's revenues and he cites contemporary documents to show that it was only agreed to pay him an annual sum of 500 riyals (p. 124).

Lahij. Five hundred of his followers left behind to protect Faḍl from his enemies, and with this force he ventured an assault on Aden in Ramaḍān 1145. The Zaydī troops protecting the city had prepared their defences along the mountains, anticipating that any attack would come the landward side; however, on this occasion Faḍl moved his troops by sea and, in effect, took the town from the rear. The Zaydī historian Sharaf ad-Dīn al-Ahnūmī, in his Barāhīn, accuses the governor of Aden, Aḥmad al-Wādi'ī, of having been in correspondence with Faḍl and paving the way for this attack. After three days the garrison of the city ran short of food and water, and, unable to hold out, capitulated. The peace was negotiated by ash-Sharīf al-'Aydarūs, under the terms of which the Zaydīs were allowed to evacuate the city by sea and go to al-Mukhā in the Yaman, taking their arms and other property with them.¹²¹

Having taken Aden, Faḍl returned to the attack on Lahij, the last remaining Zaydī stronghold in South Arabia. Again he secured the support of Sulṭān Sayf of Yāfi', and together they invested the city in Dhū 'l-Qa'da 1145. Again it was the inability of the defenders to get food and supplies through the enemy lines that determined the outcome, and on 10th Dhū 'l-Qa'da a surrender was negotiated. A compromise had to be reached on the amount of weapons the Zaydīs should be allowed to

121. Hadiyyat az-Zaman, p. 122 (quoting from al-Barāhīn al-Muḍī'a).

take with them in the evacuation of the city; but once agreed, they left and with them the last trace of the Zaydī influence in this region.¹²²

The Imām al-Manṣūr was still not prepared to recognize that Yamanī intervention in South Arabia had come to an end. At this time he was himself engaged in suppressing a revolt in the region of Yām, so he sent the governor of al-‘Udayn against Laḥij, with an army composed of the troops located between Ibb and al-Mukhā. When this force arrived at al-Ḥawāshib, it was attacked and severely defeated by Faḍl, suffering heavy casualties, and after this, the al-‘Abdalī family became the absolute rulers of Aden and Laḥij.¹²³

122. Hadiyyat az-Zaman, pp.122-3; Ikhtiṣār, p. 306.

123. Hadiyyat az-Zaman, p.123 (quoting from a risāla by ‘Awad b. Sālimīn; Luqmān, Ta’rīkh ‘Adan wa Janūb al-Juzīrat al-‘Arabiyya, p. 164.

CHAPTER VI

THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER IN THE ḤADRAMAWT BETWEEN THE ZAYDĪS AND THE SHĀFI'ĪS

The Zaydī Imāms had experienced a power of veto over the selection of the Kathīrī Sultāns since the Yamanī occupation of the Ḥadramawt in 1070, but towards the end of the reign of al-Mutawakkil Ismā'īl b. al-Qāsim (d. 1087) it was evident that this authority could not be maintained with the limited military resources ^{~ possessed?} had passed. Intervention in the affairs of neighbouring states was inhibited not only by the civil wars among claimants to the Imāmate, but also by revolts among the tribes and the Jews in the cities.¹

Before his death, al-Mutawakkil had sanctioned the accession of Sultān 'Alī b. Badr as the Kathīrī ruler of the inner Ḥadramawt, while another member of the dynasty, al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd-Allāh, ruled the seaport of ash-Shiḥr. The latter was in disagreement with Sultān 'Alī over the recognition that was paid to the Imām, wanting Zaydī influence completely removed from the region; but 'Alī seemed prepared to accept a position

1. Prominent among those who laid claim to the Imāmate during the reign of al-Mutawakkil, were the Sayyids Ibrāhīm al-Mu'ayyadī and Muḥammad al-Gharbānī. The latter continued to press his claim, also, in the reign of al-Mutawakkil's nephew, the Imām al-Mahdī. On the expulsion of the Jews from the Yaman in 1088. cf. Appendix II.

of dependence and had taken the oath of allegiance to the new Imām al-Mahdī.

When al-Mahdī died in 1092 and was succeeded by al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, al-Ḥasan travelled to the Yaman to attempt negotiations for a Zaydī withdrawal from the region. The outcome of these discussions is not mentioned in the sources, but it could not have been to al-Ḥasan's satisfaction, for upon his return to ash-Shiḥr he proclaimed a revolt. Loyal to his allegiance with the Imām, and no doubt also eager to increase his own power, 'Alī b. Badr attacked al-Ḥasan in Shawwāl 1093 and forced him to flee the city.² Al-Ḥasan's efforts, however, were not wholly fruitless, for his was the spark that kindled other movements of revolt throughout the Ḥaḍramawt, and it is from this date that Zaydī influence there may be seen as going into decline. Although the Kathīrīs of the Ḥaḍramawt and Ḍafār retained the mention of the Imām's name in the Friday khutba, they refused to accept orders or instructions from him in matters affecting the government of the region. In fact, the Kathīrīs were much closer in sympathy to the Yāfi'īs, who were like themselves of the Shāfi'ī madhab,³ and who had shown themselves

2. The divided state of the Yaman at this time probably encouraged al-Ḥasan to attempt a revolt, just as it had done in the neighbouring regions of South Arabia.

3. Sālim b. Ḥamīd, Ta'rīkh, p. 174 (repeating Aḥmad Bā-'Abbād, Ta'rīkh); Ibn Hāshim, Ta'rīkh, i, p. 88.

capable of offering military resistance to the Zaydīs.

After the death of Sulṭān ‘Alī at ash-Shiḥr in 1107, he was succeeded by his brother ‘Īsā, the head of the Āl ‘Abd-Allāh branch of the Kathīrī line; but this was not accepted by all the members of the family, and from the beginning he was obliged to face a challenge from various Kathīrī pretenders. In Sha‘bān 1107 he led a force against Āl Sa‘īd at Ju‘ayma, laying waste to the district and destroying its dwellings. The silence of the sources on the next two years or so following this seems to indicate that some understanding had reached among the Kathīrīs; but on 1st Rajab 1110 when the sons of the former Sulṭān ‘Alī b. Badr joined by the sons of Muḥammad b. Badr, killed the Kathīrid ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Mardūf, trouble broke out again. When ‘Īsā sought to punish them for this act, they crossed to Ju‘ayma and sought the help of the local Kathīrīs obliging him to make another campaign into this territory.

However, a more dangerous rival appeared at this time, in the person of ‘Umar b. Ja‘far al-Kathīrī, who had travelled to the Yaman to seek the help of the new Zaydī Imām, al-Mahdī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad. The latter was eager to re-establish Zaydī influence in the Ḥaḍramawt, and he attached a Yamanī contingent to ‘Umar's forces, which already consisted of South Arabians from al-‘Awlaqī, Yāfi‘īs under the command of al-Juwayyid, and four

hundred Bedouins from aṣ-Ṣawt.⁴

When 'Umar b. Ja'far arrived with his army at Rakhya, having been given additional support by the naqīb of Qarn ibn 'Adwān in the valley of 'Amd. Sulṭān 'Īsā led his own army and certain local tribes against him, and on the 24th Rajab 1110 this army encamped at Haynan. However, 'Umar was having difficulties with his own troops: after leaving Rakhya, his soldiers looted two places through which they passed; the men of aṣ-Ṣawt deserted and returned to their own territory; the Yāfi'īs and the 'Awlaqīs went over to the side of Sulṭān 'Īsā. Consequently no battle took place, and the Imām suffered disappointment in his ambition to restore Zaydī prestige in the Ḥaḍramawt.

Peace was brought to the rival Kathīrī factions through the mediation of Sayyid Ḥusayn b. 'Umar al-'Aṭṭās, and the life of 'Umar was spared. He took refuge with the al-'Amūdī of Daw'an, the traditional enemies of the Kathīrī power. The Imām, having failed to re-gain a foothold in the Ḥaḍramawt through military means, sent

4. Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta'rīkh, p. 176; 'Umar b. Ja'far was the second Kathīrī leader to seek assistance from the Zaydīs. Badr b. 'Umar having appealed to the Imām Ismā'īl for support against his nephew Badr b. 'Abd-Allāh in 1057. R.B. Serjeant, 'The Zaydīs' p. 294, is incorrect in saying that these Kathīrī appeals were for assistance against the Yāfi'īs. It is true, however, that after 1116, when Yāfi'ī power was established in the Ḥaḍramawt, the Imāms' assistance was sought against them.

a mission here in 1111, bearing letters to various prominent men in the region, such as the Sayyids and the Qādīs, urging them to sponsor his cause. This mission included delegates from the 'Awlaqīs, Ibn 'Abd al-Wāhid and Āl al-'Amūdī. We do not know what success this mission met with; but when it returned to the Yaman in Jam. I, 1111, it was accompanied by Muḥammad b. Shaybān, who had previously acted as a mediator between the Kathīrīs and the Zaydīs.⁵

This embassy from the Imām was followed by another in 1112 from the Yāfi'īs, led by Abū Bakr b. Harhara, the declared aim of which was to visit Sayyid 'Alī b. Aḥmad, the manṣab (? munṣib) of the Āl Abū Bakr b. Sālīm in 'Īnāt. He was well received by Sultān 'Īsā b. Badr, who was hoping for Yāfi'ī support against the Zaydīs, in as much as they, like himself, were Shāfi'īs. Again in 1113, another Yāfi'ī leader, Abū Bakr's brother Sultān 'Umar b. Sāliḥ b. Harhara, came to the Ḥaḍramawt to visit the manṣab of the Āl Abū Bakr b. Sālīm of 'Īnāt, leading a body of troops, and he too was welcomed by 'Īsā, who prepared a feast for the occasion at Sayūn. The Kathīrī pretender, Badr b. Muḥammad al-Mardūf, also prepared celebrations in honour of his arrival. The purpose of this visit was - apart from paying reverence to the head of the Āl Abū Bakr - to proclaim the victories of the Yāfi'īs over the Zaydīs on the frontiers

5. Cf. pp. 98, 104.

of South Arabia and the Yaman and to counter whatever influence they might still retain in the Ḥaḍramawt. Both these Kathīrī Sultāns wished to recruit Yāfi'ī troops for their armies;⁶ but another Kathīrī pretender, 'Umar b. Ja'far, sought to establish his power by Zaydī support. The Imām al-Mahdī was not in a position to lend him much material assistance at this time, but he did reward this loyalty by appointing 'Umar b. Ja'far governor of the city of Radā' in 1113.⁷

Another Ḥaḍramī leader now sought to take advantage of this dissention among the Kathīrīs: Muḥammad b. Muṭahhar al-'Amūdī, the governor of the valley of Daw'an, whose ancestor, Sa'īd b. 'Īsā al-'Amūdī, was revered as a saint by the tribes of the region.⁸ It has already been shown (Chap. IV) that

6. Muḥammad Bā-Ḥannān, Jawāhir Ta'rīkh al-Aḥqāf, II, p. 112; Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta'rīkh, p. 183.

7. Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta'rīkh, p. 182.

8. Shaykh Sa'īd al-'Amūdī was born in Qaydūn in 600. Although he could neither read nor write, he acquired wide learning merely by listening to the 'ulamā, and he studied ṣufism under Shaykh 'Abd-Allāh al-Maghribī of Kanīna and Sayyid Muḥammad b. 'Alī of Tarīm, and under certain other murshids. It is said that he and his teacher Sayyid Muḥammad were the first to put ṣufism into practice in the Ḥaḍramawt, and because of this he gained a reputation for sanctity among the 'ulamā. He travelled among the tribes as a preacher, gaining a spiritual influence over them which later was to be used for political ends by his descendents. He died in 671, and was buried at Qaydūn. Under his
(Contd.)

the 'Amūdīs were the rivals of the Kathīrīs for power in the Ḥaḍramawt, and that they depended on Zaydī support in the struggle for power. In Muḥarram 1115 Muḥammad attacked the Kathīrī city of al-Quzih for five days, destroying its water supply, burning the palm-trees and killing the animals. Sultān 'Īsā sent a force under the command of his son Ja'far to relieve the city, but it was lured into an ambush and suffered heavy casualties. This was known as the Battle of Misih, which a poet of the 'Amūdīs sang of:

He who wants to be powerful stays below the mountain
road of Misih,
Where two hundred and seven conquered seventeen
hundred.

Ja'far retreated to the city of al-Hajrayn, from where he sent messages to his father asking for more troops. However, before these new contingents had set out, a four month armistice between the 'Amūdīs and the Kathīrīs was negotiated by Shaykh Sa'īd b. 'Abd-Allāh Bā-Wazīr.⁹

Under attack inside the Ḥaḍramawt from the 'Amūdīs and outside from 'Umar b. Ja'far, Sultān 'Īsā b. Badr was in a difficult position. While the war with the former was raging, 'Umar had secured fresh support from the Imām

Contd.) influence, many of the tribesmen of the region abandoned the nomadism for a settled life, and some became scholars. Cf. Ṣafaḥāt min at-Ta'rīkh al-Ḥaḍramī, pp. 149-151.

9. Ibn Hāshim, Ta'rīkh, I, p. 95, repeated from the Ta'liqāt of Bā-Faqīh; Jawāhir Ta'rīkh al-Aḥqāf, II, p. 214, Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta'rīkh, p. 187.

al-Mahdī. In Rab. II, 1115, a Yamanī army led by ‘Umar left by sea from the port of al-Mukhā for ash-Shiḥr, intending to dethrone Sulṭān ‘Īsā. Ash-Shiḥr was easily taken, the inhabitants offering little resistance in face of this strong force. A new governor was appointed and a garrison provided for the protection of the city. While here, ‘Umar wrote letters to the dignitaries of the Ḥaḍramawt and local Zaydī supporters asking for their support,¹⁰ stating that he had come here on the orders of the Imām and that in order to prevent bloodshed they should all submit to him.

This invasion forced Sulṭān ‘Īsā to look about for more troops and tribal support, but he no longer had the wealth to attract recruits, nor could the revenues of his lands bear the burden of any increased expenditure on the military forces. In fact, his regular army was now refusing to serve him any longer, unless he paid the five months arrears in their salary and the provisions for which they had been waiting for six months. All ‘Īsā could manage was three months pay for the troops, which they were persuaded to accept. ‘Umar on the other hand, had now been joined in ash-Shiḥr by the governor of the valley of Daw‘an, Muḥammad b. Muṭahhar al-‘Amūdī

10. Ibrāhīm b. Zayd al-Ḥijāfī, Nafḥat al-‘Anbar, II, f174b. These Zaydīs were the descendents of those who had occupied the region in 1070, during the reign of the Imām al-Mutawakkil, and they provided a permanent foothold for the Yamanīs in the Ḥaḍramawt.

and his nephew, bringing with them about two hundred men, in return for which they were given five hundred qarsh and certain articles of clothes, and presented with a letter from the Imām. According to custom, drums were beaten to summon that the Kathīrī city of ash-Shiḥr and the ‘Amūdī city of al-Khurayba were now allies. Even some members of the Ḥaḍramī tribe of ash-Shanāfir, one of the branches of the Kathīrīs, came from the interior of the Ḥaḍramawt to ash-Shiḥr to offer their submission.¹¹ The success of this invasion was an occasion for celebration throughout the Yaman (25 Jam. I, 1115).¹²

Sultān ‘Īsā went into hiding in his palace at Sayūn, from where he later escaped according to the Ḥaḍramī sources, to Ju‘ayma, but, according to the Nafḥat al-‘Anbar, to the dwelling of a certain saint who lived about a day's distance from Sayūn.¹³ When he

11. Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta’rīkh, p. 210. He gives the year 1118 as the date of this Zaydī invasion, but this probably results from a copyists' error in the manuscript of the work which he was using as a source, the Ta’rīkh of Aḥmad Bā-‘Abbād. However, the Nafḥat al-‘Anbar by the Zaydī historian Ibrāhīm b. Zayd al-Ḥijāfī, gives the year as 1115. He probably did not notice his error, because another Zaydī invasion did take place in 1118, after the death of Sultān ‘Īsā.

12. Nafḥat al-‘Anbar, II, f.175b.

13. This saint, whose name is not mentioned in the Nafḥat al-‘Anbar, was the head of the Āl Abū Bakr of ‘Īnāt, Sayyid ‘Alī b. Aḥmad.

left here, drums were beaten to proclaim that the city was now under the protection of the Imām and Sulṭān ‘Umar b. Ja‘far and their troops.

In Jam. II, ‘Umar and his army left ash-Shiḥr and moved to the city of al-Hajrayn, the governor and people of which offered him submission. Here, the tribes of al-Kasr, Nahd and certain others, including some members of the Kathīrī family in Sayūn, came to announce their capitulation, also. Having appointed his uncle, ‘Umar b. ‘Alī, governor of the city of Shibām, ‘Umar proceeded on to the Kathīrī capital of Sayūn, from where he set about re-establishing Zaydī authority throughout the Ḥaḍramawt.¹⁴

While Sulṭān ‘Īsā was still in hiding, the people mediated between him and Sulṭān ‘Umar, and his life was to be spared if he would "ask forgiveness from God for his disobedience to the Imām al-Mahdī." (Nafḥat) He then returned to Sayūn, but before the year was out he felt again compelled to leave here and seek refuge in ‘Īnāt among the Āl Abū Bakr, the long-time rivals of the Zaydīs. Once more efforts were made to effect a reconciliation between him and ‘Umar, the latter actually coming to ‘Īnāt at the head of a force of four hundred and fifty horsemen. An agreement was signed whereby each undertook to do no harm to the other, after which ‘Umar returned to Sayūn and ‘Īsā left with his family and

14. Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta’rīkh, p.213; Nafḥat al-‘Anbar, II, f.176a.

followers for Tarīm. In an attempt to improve the weak position in which he found himself, 'Īsā the following year 1116 went to the Yaman, probably with the intention of pleading with the Imām; but before anything could be achieved, he died in al-Mukhā.¹⁵ After his death Sulṭān 'Umar b. Ja'far found his position in the Ḥaḍramawt contested by another Kathīrī rival, Badr b. Muḥammad. He had been governor of Zafār, but he returned to continue the struggle against the Zaydīs which had been waged by 'Īsā.¹⁶

Badr made the city of Tarīm his headquarters, and before beginning his activities he sought an alliance with the Yāfi'īs. The people of the Ḥaḍramawt were now split into two, politically and in doctrine: those who supported the Zaydīs by following the Āl 'Alī b. 'Abd-Allāh branch of the Kathīrīs, led by Sulṭān 'Umar b. Ja'far; those Shāfi'ī Sunnites who followed Badr b. Muḥammad in alliance with the Yāfi'īs. However, so

15. Although the Imām seemed to be pleased at the arrival of Sulṭān 'Īsā, and actually had public celebrations held in his honour, something must have happened to change his attitude, for when 'Īsā reached al-Mukhā on Rab. I, 1116, on his way back to the Ḥaḍramawt, the governor of the city had orders to imprison him. It is not clear whether or not he died in prison. Cf. Nafḥat al-'Anbar, II, f.201b.

16. Ibn Hāshim, Ta'rīkh, i, p. 96. Before Badr b. Muḥammad came to power in Zafar, it had been ruled by 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Alī ash-Shanzūrī, who retired from public life because his sight was failing. Cf. Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta'rīkh, p. 186.

great was the distrust of the Ḥaḍramīs for the dangerously powerful Yāfi'īs that, despite the fact that they were co-religionists, many of the Sunnīs refused to lend their support to Sulṭān Badr, and he had to travel to Yāfi' to ask for more troops to assist him in his war with the Zaydīs. Sayyid 'Alī b. Aḥmad, the head of the Āl Abū Bakr of 'Īnāt, gave him a letter of recommendation in which he urged all the Yāfi'ī leaders to lend their support to Badr in his war against the Zaydīs and their agent, Sulṭān 'Umar. Sayyid 'Alī wished to appear neutral in the struggles between the Kathīrī rivals, and he presented his appeal as being anti-Zaydīs, however, Sulṭān 'Umar did not understand it in this way and he thought the Sayyid was favouring the Yāfi'īs. Consequently, an estrangement arose between them, which required the mediation of the saint Sayyid 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Alawī al-Ḥaddād to be removed; the imminent approach of Badr and the Yāfi'īs assured that his recommendations would not go unheeded. Sulṭān 'Umar went in person to 'Īnāt to achieve a reconciliation, and friendly relations were again restored.¹⁷

Supported by the favour of Sayyid 'Alī, Badr was able to gather a force of fighting-men in Yāfi'. A tribal gathering was held at al-Maḥjaba at which were present Sulṭān 'Umar b. Ṣāliḥ b. Harhara and Sulṭān

17. Ibn Hāshim, Ta'rīkh, I, 99.

Qaḥṭān b. Ma'uda b. al-'Afīf, and from this an army of six thousand men was selected and placed under the command of the former. This army proceeded southwards towards the Ḥaḍramawt, passing through 'Antar, Dhī-Sarā' and Jawba Ghālib, and on the way it was joined by other Yāfi'īs whose territories lay on the route. These were told that the purpose of the expedition was to punish Sultān 'Umar for the way he was treating other Yāfi'īs in the Ḥaḍramawt. The army moved to al-Bayḍā, and from there to Niṣāb, where Sultān Ṣāliḥ b. Munasssar al-'Awlaqī welcomed it, however, he tried to dissuade it from entering the Ḥaḍramawt by pointing out the opposition it would face from the masses who supported Sultān 'Umar. His advice went unheeded, and the Yāfi'ī army continued on its way.¹⁸

On 3rd Dhū 'l-Ḥijja 1116 reports reached the Ḥaḍramawt that this Yāfi'ī force had arrived at 'Anaq, and was intending an invasion. The people were alarmed, and several Kathīrī leaders travelled to 'Ināt to hold secret negotiations with the leader of Āl Abū Bakr b. Sālim.¹⁹

At this time Sultān 'Umar was in the port city of ash-Shiḥr, with his uncle 'Umar b. 'Alī acting as his

18. Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī, Ḥaḍramawt wa 'Adān wa 'Imārāt al-Janūb al-'Arabī, p. 95.

19. Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta'rīkh, p. 198; Ibn Hāshim, Ta'rīkh, I, p. 91.

agent in Sayūn. The latter summoned the army and announced that whatever may be the purpose of the Yāfi'īs in coming into the Ḥaḍramawt he was going to resist them; and he informed them that Sulṭān 'Umar b. Ja'far was on his way and would soon arrive. The army expressed their willingness to fight, and their headquarters was established at Shibām.²⁰ On his way to join them, Sulṭān 'Umar b. Ja'far tried unsuccessfully to secure the help of the ruler of Daw'an, al-'Amūdī, a former ally in the defence of the Zaydī cause in the Ḥaḍramawt; for his own selfish reasons he not only refused to assist him on this occasion, but actually sent three hundred men and a hundred camel loads of supplies to Badr b. Muḥammad. Apparently he had been promised by Badr that, after the victory had been won and he was in control, the 'Amūdī family would have restored those privileges which had been taken from them by former Kathīrī rulers. Another thousand-strong force made up of the 'Amūdī allies, also, joined Badr at the mountain-pass of al-Jahī.

Before the opposing armies met in battle, the leader of the Yāfi'ī contingent, Sulṭān 'Umar b. Ṣāliḥ b. Harhara, wrote to Sulṭān 'Umar b. Ja'far explaining that his troops were coming only to expunge Zaydī doctrines from the Ḥaḍramawt, and that there was no

20. Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta'rīkh, p. 199.

intention of destroying his authority. He was told in reply that neither the Yāfi'īs nor anyone else would be allowed to intervene in the affairs of the country.²¹

The forces of 'Umar b. Ja'far were finally mustered in strength on 16 Dhū 'l-Hijja 1116, consisting of his own regular army, most of the tribe of ash-Shanāfir, the Banū Tamīm from the vicinity of Tarīm, the Ashrāf al-Jawf, and a certain slave of the Imām, named Yaqūt, who was probably in command of the Zaydī troops in the Ḥaḍramawt. With this force he left Shibām and met the enemy in battle at Baḥrān.²²

'Umar b. Ja'far was seriously outnumbered: he had only one thousand and five hundred men, of whom one hundred were mounted, as against the enemy force of seven thousand. The defeat he suffered was inevitable. He fled from the field, leaving behind heavy casualties, and made his way to the interior of the Ḥaḍramawt, where he sought to gain recruits for his cause. The people of the country were very apprehensive about what would happen to them as a result of this Yāfi'ī victory, but they were assured that now the Ḥaḍramawt was under the protection of the Āl Abū Bakr b. Ṣālim of 'Ināt and Sulṭān Badr and that no vengeance would be exacted

21. Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī, Ḥaḍramawt wa 'Adan, p. 95.

22. Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta'rīkh, p. 199. Baḥrān is a plain lying between al-Mashhad and Sadba.

from them nor reprisals made.

Sultān Badr b. Muḥammad went with his army to Shibām, where the people came out to welcome him, Sayyid ‘Alī b. Aḥmad came here from ‘Ināt, amid general rejoicing, and thanked the Yāfi‘īs for having driven the Zaydīs out of the Ḥaḍramawt. He urged them not to harm the deposed Sultān ‘Umar b. Ja‘far, for the war was not against him but rather against the hated doctrine of the Imām.²³

Most of the Zaydīs now fled to the Yaman from the Ḥaḍramawt, among them the naqībs Saylān ash-Shāmī and Sa‘īd al-Ghālībī, the latter being described in Ḥaḍramī sources as harsh and cruel. Once they were gone and the Shāfi‘ī doctrine re-established, the khaṭīb of the city of Tarīm was ordered to restore the second khuṭba of Ibn Nubāta, which had probably been discontinued under the Zaydīs, and to mention the names of Companions of the Prophet. For political reasons, he was also instructed to continue mentioning the name of Imām al-Mahdī of the Yaman; and on the 1st Muḥarram 1117 the khaṭīb of Sayūn received the same instruction, with the addition that his name should precede that of Sultān Badr b. Muḥammad.²⁴

23. Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī, Ḥaḍramawt wa ‘Adan, p. 96; Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta’rīkh, p. 200.

24. Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta’rīkh, pp. 197, 201.

Sultān Badr left Shibām for Sayūn on 6th Muḥarram 1117. Despite the assurances which had been given to the people, the Yāfi‘ī soldiers began a campaign of looting and spoilation. In letters, both dated 8 Rab. I, 1117, the saint of Tarīm, the Sayyid ‘Abd-Allāh b. ‘Alawī al-Ḥaddād, informed the Sayyid Zayn al-‘Ābidīn al-‘Aydarūs and Ḥasan b. Muṭahhar al-‘Amūdī, the governor of Wādī Daw‘an, expressed his disgust at what was happening in the country, which he described as being in a state of tumult.²⁵

Sultān ‘Umar b. Ja‘far was meanwhile trying to gain support for his cause. He went to ‘Ināt to hold discussions with the head of the Āl Abū Bakr family, but these apparently produced no result, for he is next found in ash-Shiḥr seeking the support of the powerful tribe of al-Ḥumūm. Ash-Shiḥr was still under his control, and he thought that another sea-borne invasion of the country might be possible. However, on the 8th Rajab 1117, Sultān Badr, assisted by the ‘Amūdīs, occupied this city, also, looting and murdering. Another of his cities in the interior of the Ḥaḍramawt, al-Hajrayn, met the same fate, when it was taken by Muḥammad, the son of Sultān Badr, and the ‘Amūdīs in Sha‘bān 1117, being given over to looting for five days.

25. ‘Abd-Allāh b. ‘Alawī al-Ḥaddād, [Majmū‘at ar-Rasā’il], ff.19a-20b. Al-‘Aydarūs had at this time fled the country, and was taking refuge with the ‘Amūdīs.

A group of Sayyids came from various parts of the territory to attempt to mediate between the two Kathīrī factions, but the ‘Amūdīs refused to accept any such proposal and continued the war against Sulṭān ‘Umar, who was now operating in the interior. Sulṭān Badr, too, wrote to his supporters, warning them to be on the alert against his rival; he himself felt unable to pursue him because he was now trying to free himself from the pressure which the Yāfi‘ī soldiers were exerting on him to receive their pay, and he moved from ash-Shiḥr to al-Mishqās.²⁶

In the interior, Sulṭān ‘Umar was trying to recruit new support to augment the troops which came here with him, consisting mainly of tribesmen of al-Ḥumūm and a dissident group of the ‘Amūdīs, and he succeeded in winning over to his side the people of the city of Tārība and the Kathīrīs of Maryama and Bawr. On 3rd Ramaḍān 1117, the governor of Sayūn, also declared for him, and this capital city of the Kathīrīs was entered in triumph. The governor of Shibām, Sulṭān Badr's son, fled from there to Ju‘ayma at the news that Sulṭān ‘Umar was approaching.

26. Al-Mishqās is the region lying between the city of al-Mukalla and the province of Ḥafār, peopled by the tribes of al-Ḥumūm, al-Mahra and al-Manahīl. Cf. Ta'rīkh ash-Shu'arā' 'l-Ḥaḍramiyyīn, I, p. 22, n.1.

Sultān Badr's fortunes suffered another reversal when, in Ramadān 1117, the port of ash-Shiḥr was taken by a force sent here by the Imām al-Mahdī. These troops consisted of men from the Mahrī region, led by one of the Imām's slaves, and the emīr Sa'īd b. Maṭrān. The Yāfi'ī garrison surrendered, on the condition that their lives would be spared and that they would be allowed to leave the city within eight days with their arms and property, either by sea to Yāfi' or by land to 'Īnāt in the Ḥaḍramawt. They chose the latter route and went to 'Īnāt.²⁷

Sultān 'Umar now had control of most of the Ḥaḍramawt, but he was undecided about what his future course should be. In a letter sent to him by the Shāfi'ī Imām of the period, Sayyid 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Alawī al-Ḥaddāḍ,²⁸

27. Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta'rīkh, pp. 202-206.

28. He was one of the leading 'ulamā of the age, famous throughout the Ḥaḍramawt. He was born in Ṣafar 1044 in as-Subayr, near the city of Tarīm. At the age of four he lost his sight due to small-pox, but this did not prevent him from studying under various scholars and becoming a man of great learning. Students came to him for instruction, and the people regarded him as a mujtahid. He was inclined towards Ṣūfī devotions, and travelled the Ḥaḍramawt from Zāwiya to Zāwiya to attend at their services. In 1080 he made the Pilgrimage and it was in Mecca that he met Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr ash-Shillī, who was to become his biographer. He was the author of several books, a well-known poet, and the founder of many mosques in the cities of the Ḥaḍramawt. The people, and among them the Kathīrī

he was cautioned: "We have given you the advice which seems best to us, but if you think otherwise you are free to do so. But you should not be guided by "Āl Fulān", for they are ungodly and given to wrongdoing and their opinions are not to be trusted. The ruler who acts on their instructions is no longer his own master; the rope is on the withers (al-ḥablu 'alā 'l-ghārib), and there is no point in dealing with him. Their attitudes change from time to time, and ultimately they will bring you and your people into dissention and you will not know whether they are for you or against you. Our advice is rooted in long experience, from which we know what is best for each according to his situation".²⁹

'Umar had made himself dependent on the Yāfi'īs, whom he was known to despise and distrust, and even now he felt it necessary for his own security to absorb those of them who had been driven from ash-Shiḥr into his army, acting on the advice of Āl Abū Bakr b. Sālim. By doing this he sought to deny their support to Sulṭān Badr, even though his own resources would be stretched to the limit to pay them. This, of course, proved the resentment of the Zaydī contingents in 'Umar's army;

Contd.) Sulṭāns, used to look to him for advice and guidance. He died in Dhū 'l-Qa'da 1132. Cf. al-Mashra' ar-Rawī, II, pp. 181-184; Ta'rīkh ash-Shu'arā' 'l-Ḥaḍramiyyīn, II, pp. 24-50.

29. Ibn Hāshim, Ta'rīkh, I, p. 99.

and they immediately demanded the pay that was due to them, threatening that otherwise they would go to Daw'an and join his enemy, the 'Amūdīs. 'Umar could not allow this to happen, for he relied on the Zaydīs for support against his numerous enemies in the country, and eventually he was able to re-assure them. Yet the recruitment of the Yāfi'īs continued: on 5th Rab. I, 1118 a messenger arrived at Sayūn bearing a letter from ash-Shujā' b. Abū Bakr b. Harhara of Yāfi' who had arrived in 'Anaq at the head of three hundred men to be incorporated into 'Umar's army. He claimed that he had come at the request of both Sayyid 'Alī b. Aḥmad of 'Ināt and Sultān 'Umar b. Ja'far. This was an embarrassment to 'Umar, and when the troops arrived in Sayūn five days later he must have refused to accept them, for both parties immediately left for 'Ināt to put the matter to the arbitration of Sayyid 'Alī. Ash-Shujā' produced 'Umar's letter requesting troops, while 'Umar protested that he had not the money for their pay. In the end, he agreed to accept all but forty, because they were of the lower classes; fifty were sent to ash-Shiḥr to reinforce the Kathīrī garrison there, and the remainder stayed with 'Umar. This new increase in the numbers of these traditional enemies greatly alarmed the Zaydīs in the army, and they deserted, leaving behind their belongings.³⁰

30. Ibn Hāshim, Ta'rīkh, i, p. 98, puts this event in the year 1113, but the correct year (1118) is given by Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta'rīkh, p. 217.

The Yāfi'īs now dominated the political life in the Ḥaḍramawt, and the situation verged on anarchy. Sulṭān Badr had more or less withdrawn from confrontation with them by moving to al-Mishqās, but Sulṭān 'Umar had seek other means of dealing with these unwelcome allies. In 1118 he went to the Yaman to ask the help of the Imām al-Mahdī, a request that was readily granted in as much as it offered a new opportunity for restoring Zaydī influence in the Ḥaḍramawt. He ordered al-Ḥuraybī, the governor of al-Mukhā, to collect a force from the men of Ḥāshid and Bakīl whom he was holding prisoner, and to send them by sea to ash-Shiḥr to fight on the side of Sulṭān 'Umar. Understandably, these were very reluctant to fight for the cause of the Imām, and they had to be compelled to embark the ships designated for their expedition. Their arrival did help Sulṭān 'Umar to retain his position for a while; but no sooner had they returned to the Yaman than the Yāfi'īs once again began their depredations, forcing Sulṭān 'Umar and other Zaydīs settled in the region to flee the Ḥaḍramawt and abandon their property to looting.

Again 'Umar appealed to the Imām for assistance, but this time his request was refused, for the internal affairs of the Yaman were such that troops could not be spared. The Imām himself was now under attack from his rivals, later to be joined also by al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn, who was eventually (in 1127) to depose him.³¹ All he

31. as-Siḥr al-Mubīn, f.105a, al-Jāmi' al-Wajīz, f.162a.

could do was appoint 'Umar governor of Zafār in South Arabia. However, when he arrived here in Dhū 'l-Qa'da 1118, the Mahrīs and the garrison troops each demanded that he pay three hundred garsh before he would be allowed to disembark, claiming that the Imām himself had imposed this condition. For some reason 'Umar was unable to pay this amount, and he moved on to Qishn in the Mahrī territory, reaching here on the last day of Dhū 'l-Qa'da. Sultān Badr, having received word of the demands of the people of Zafār, had to afford to pay the money they were asking for on behalf of 'Umar at some later date, but they refused to trust him. His purpose in this was probably to keep his rival as far away from the Ḥaḍramawt as possible.³²

At the beginning of the year 1119 the Ḥaḍramawt was beset by the problem of the Yāfi'ī troops who wandered throughout the region looting and killing, beyond the power of their leaders to control. Badr, who was responsible for bringing them here, was also powerless to do anything to eliminate these troublesome allies. He went to 'Īnāt and appealed to the leader of the Āl Abū Bakr to use his influence over the Yāfi'īs in this matter; as a result of which a letter was sent to them threatening that unless they showed obedience to Badr and behaved themselves properly he would abandon them.

32. Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta'rīkh, p. 210.

This proved effective; the Yāfi'īs promised Sayyid 'Alī that they would do what he wished and accept orders from Sulṭān Badr.

In addition to this, there was the problem of the hostility between the two factions of the Kathīrīs: the Āl Badr b. 'Umar led by Sulṭān Badr b. Muḥammad, and the Āl 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Umar led by Sulṭān 'Umar b. Ja'far. In this matter the Yāfi'ī leaders acted as peace-makers, and, when their own efforts failed, they brought the rivals together in 'Ināt to submit to the mediation of Sayyid 'Alī b. Aḥmad. Present, also, at this conference were the Yāfi'ī Sulṭān 'Umar b. Ṣāliḥ b. Harhara and a certain Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Kathīrī; this was the first occasion on which the Kathīrī 'Umar b. Ja'far met the Yāfi'ī 'Umar b. Ṣāliḥ peacefully, and to show him good will he presented him with gifts of horses, guns and money, and his brother, Abū Bakr b. Ṣāliḥ with a large amount of money. As a result of the negotiations, 'Umar b. Ja'far was granted the rule of Zafār and instructed to travel there by way of al-Mishqās. Any member of the Āl 'Abd-Allāh who wished to accompany him would be allowed to do so, while those who chose to remain in the Ḥaḍramawt were to receive one kayla (probably of corn) from the ruler.³³

'Umar b. Ja'far accepted this decision, however,

33. Jawāhir Ta'rīkh al-Aḥqāf, II, p. 214, Ibn Hāshim, Ta'rīkh, I, p. 100.

when he arrived at Ṣafār on about 12 Rab. I, 1119, he found that it was occupied by the Mahrīs and other members of the Kathīrī family. The person, also a Kathīrī named Aḥmad b. Muḥammad - who was ruler of Ṣafār before this occupation, had fled from here with his son and followers to 'Umān. The Mahrīs had then appointed their own ruler, Sa'īd b. 'Umar Ṭaw'arī, and it was he who treated with 'Umar b. Ja'far. The outcome of these negotiations was that the latter should be given food and money for the expenses he had incurred and return to the Ḥaḍramawt.³⁴

The rôle of the Āl Abū Bakr Sayyids of 'Īnāt in the affairs of the Ḥaḍramawt at this time was considerable, and the city became practically a court of appeal for all parties with a grievance or a problem. This influence over the Yāfi'īs was unalterable, but this special relationship did not prevent them from being impartial in their judgement. Even those Kathīrīs who were in opposition to the Yāfi'īs were prepared to accept their impartiality in decisions, and they realized that the only reason Sayyids had encouraged the Yāfi'īs to fight in the Ḥaḍramawt was not so much against them as to counter the Zaydī influence.³⁵

34. Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta'rīkh, p. 221.

35. Ibn Hāshim, Ta'rīkh, I, p. 97.

Unable to establish himself in Zafār, 'Umar b. Ja'far returned to the Ḥaḍramawt in another attempt to wrest control of the territory from Badr b. Muḥammad, but it proved that it was not with him he had to contend but rather with the Yāfi'īs, whose tyranny now terrorized the people. Powerless against them, he went to al-Mishqās for refuge. Delegations from the cities of Sayūn, Tarīm, Shibām, Tarīs, al-Ghurfa and Maryama, as well as representatives of the Muslim and Indian merchants, went to 'Ināt to seek the intervention of Āl Abū Bakr, hoping that they might prevail over the Yāfi'ī troops who were now out of the control of their leaders. The head of the family (manṣab) appointed a committee drawn from the Āl Abū Bakr, two members of which, the Sayyids Aḥmad b. Sālim and Aḥmad b. Shaykh, went to Tarīm, while other Sayyids went to Shibām. Both parties carried letters from the manṣab to the Yāfi'īs, warning them of the consequence of their behaviour.³⁶

After 'Umar had left for al-Mishqās, his Zaydī supporters in the Ḥaḍramawt found their position growing increasingly more untenable, and they were advised by a certain Sa'īd al-Kathīrī to evacuate Sayūn. About this time the name of the Imām al-Mahdī was deleted from the khuṭba, and only that of Sulṭān Badr mentioned. A six month armistice, commencing from Jam. II, 1120, was

36. Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta'rīkh, p. 223; Ibn Hāshim, Ta'rīkh, I, p. 98.

concluded at this time between Sulṭān Badr and the Ḥaḍramī tribe of ash-Shanāfir, who, although not Zaydīs, were supporting ‘Umar b. Ja‘far because of their hostility towards the Yāfi‘īs.³⁷

In Ram. 1120, ‘Umar tried to muster a new army from the tribes in the regions aṣ-Ṣawt, al-Kasr, and al-Fawha, but failing in this he returned to the city of Haynan to celebrate the ‘īd. Another attempt in Dhū ‘l-Qa‘da of the same year was no more successful.³⁸ However, after a period of inactivity, on 17th Jam. II, 1122, he captured the city of ash-Shiḥr, having already taken Rayda Bā-Ḥamdān. Badr's supporters in ash-Shiḥr fled to Sayūn, where they arrived on the 25th of the same month. While the garrison commander, ‘Alī b. Mar‘ī al-Yāfi‘ī made his way to Barūm; the troops that remained submitted to ‘Umar, as did also the governor of the city, Ghayl Bā-Wazīr.³⁹ Although the sources are detailed in respect of this victory, ‘Umar's subsequent progress in the Ḥaḍramawt, including the capture of the capital Sayūn, received only the briefest mention. It was clear that in face of the Yāfi‘ī power he would be unable to hold what he had gained, and shortly afterwards he was forced to leave the capital and return to ash-Shiḥr, because, as the chronicler states: baqā huwa

37. Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta'riḥ, pp. 224-228.

38. Ibid., p. 236.

39. Ibid., p. 236.

wa Yāfi'ū ka-'l-mā' wa 's-salīt, "he and the Yāfi'īs continued to be as oil with water".⁴⁰

But it was not only with the Yāfi'īs that he had to contend. Towards the end of Ram. 1123, Ḥasan b. Muṭahhar al-'Amūdī, the ruler of Daw'an, attacked and looted the Kathīrī city of al-Hajrayn. 'Umar hastened there with his troops and inflicted a grievous defeat on the 'Amūdīs, pursuing them back to their own territories. However, through the mediation of Sayyid Ḥusayn b. 'Umar al-Aṭṭās and Shaykh 'Alī b. Sa'īd Bā-Wazīr, a three month armistice was negotiated.⁴¹

Still endeavouring to break the power of the Yāfi'īs, 'Umar went into South Arabia and effected an alliance with Sultān Munasssar al-'Awlaqī, who came to his assistance with six hundred men. Sultān Ḥasan b. al-Hādī al-Wāhidī, with two hundred men, also joined him. When 'Umar, accompanied by these allies, arrived at Haynan on 1st Rab. I, 1125; Sayyid Ḥusayn b. 'Umar al-Aṭṭās negotiated an agreement between him and the Yāfi'īs in the region whereby the latter would serve in his army as mercenaries, and at a wage less than they at first demanded. This agreement was made in the presence of Sayyids of the Āl Abū Bakr of 'Īnāt but despite this, when 'Umar arrived at Shibām, these

40. Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta'rīkh, pp. 237--240.

41. Ibn Hāshim, Ta'rīkh, I, pp. 101-102; Jawāhir Ta'rīkh al-Aḥqāf, II, p. 215.

Yāfi'īs attacked the al-Maṣāqir group of the tribe of ash-Shanāfir, who were among his supporters. When his 'Awlaqī and Wāhidī allies returned to their own lands, 'Umar again found himself unable to cope with the Yāfi'īs. Again he went to 'Ināt to solicit the intervention of the manṣab, but this, too, proved of no avail, and in the end he had to leave Sayūn and go to ash-Shiḥr where certain insurrection had to be suppressed.⁴²

'Umar wrote to Sayyid 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Alawī al-Ḥaddād complaining of the behaviour of the Yāfi'īs and requesting a meeting with him in order to discuss the matter. In his reply, dated Jam. II, 1126, al-Ḥaddād recognized the dangers which this situation could entail for the country, but he refused to meet 'Umar, claiming that in the past he had not always followed his advice. However, he expressed a wish that the correspondence between them should continue.⁴³

In an attempt to neutralize the Yāfi'ī power, 'Umar now began to show particular favour to the Zaydī contingents among his followers, and in consequence of this the garrison troops in the hinterlands of the Ḥaḍramawt refused to recognize him as Sultān any longer and selected Badr b. 'Alī al-Kathīrī to replace him. Moreover, plans were made to launch an attack against ash-

42. Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta'rīkh, I, p. 241. He places these events in the year 1123, but this probably a copyist's error, for in Ibn Ḥāshim, Ta'rīkh, I, p. 102, and Jawāhir Ta'rīkh al-Aḥqāf, II, p. 216, the year 1125 is given for them.

43. 'Abd-Allāh al-Ḥaddād, [Majmu'at ar-Rasā'il], f.18a.

Shihr towards the end of 1127, the news of which prompted 'Umar to flee to Daw'an in search of help from its people. Failing in this, he entered the Yaman to make the same request of the new Imām al-Mutawakkil al-Qāsim b. al-Husayn.

Worried by this news, in 1128 the Yāfi'īs in the homeland sent reinforcements to their troops in the Ḥaḍramawt, among them being seven members of the influential family of Ibn Harhara.⁴⁴ The following year, the Imām assigned a force under Ibn 'Afrā' to assist 'Umar, certain sections of which - and notably the tribesmen of Dhū-Husayn - were eager to enter the Ḥaḍramawt and exact vengeance for their relatives who had died there at the hands of the Yāfi'īs.⁴⁵ This Yamanī force crossed al-Jawf, where 'Umar collected eight hundred more men for his army and thence proceeded into the Ḥaḍramawt, arriving in Haynan in Ṣafar 1130. Here they were joined by six hundred men, led by Sa'īd al-'Amūdī. Now outnumbered, the Yāfi'īs shut themselves up in the city of Shibām, which was being governed by Muḥammad b. Badr, who had inherited authority on the death of his father.⁴⁶

'Umar laid siege to the city for three months, battering its walls with his cannon-fire; but when no result could be achieved by this, an armistice was

44. Ibn Hamīd, Ta'rīkh, p. 242.

45. as-Sihr al-Mubīn, f.127b; al-Jāmi' al-Wajīz, f.166a; Riyāḍ al-'Asjad, f.80a.

46. Muḥammad b. Hāshim, Ta'rīkh, I, p. 92 mentions that Sulṭān Badr b. Muḥammad died about the year 1120. Ibn Hamīd, Ta'rīkh, p. 236, speaks of him as being

negotiated.⁴⁷ The failure of 'Umar and his supporters is attributed to the fact that the region was suffering from drought at this time and food for men and animals was scarce; moreover, the troops from outside the region were unfamiliar with the methods of warfare followed here.⁴⁸

Leaving here, 'Umar proceeded against Tarīm where he again attacked the Yāfi'īs. Although he was somewhat more successful than at Shibām, he still was unable to gain a decisive victory over them. He turned for advice to Sayyid 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Alawī al-Ḥaddād, and was told that he should appeal to the leaders of the Āl Abū Bakr of 'Īnāt to act as mediators.⁴⁹ But this was to prove no solution to the immediate problem: most of the Zaydīs had been killed, and 'Umar's other supporters began to return to their homes. He now went to 'Īnāt, and after three months there, the Sayyids arranged a truce between him and the Yāfi'īs.⁵⁰ However, life for him in the Ḥaḍramawt had become insupportable, and he finally gave up the struggle with the Yāfi'īs and moved to Masqaṭ, where he died without ever returning

Contd.) alive in 1122. After the latter date his name disappeared from all the sources.

47. Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta'rīkh, pp. 244-46.

48. Al-Ḥaddād, [Majmū'at ar-Rasā'il], 24b, in a letter dated Ramaḍān 1130 to Muḥammad b. 'Abd-Allāh Bā-Makhramah in Mecca.

49. Ibn Hāshim, Ta'rīkh, I, p. 103.

50. Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta'rīkh, p. 246.

to the Ḥaḍramawt.⁵¹

The sultānate of the Ḥaḍramawt now passed to his brother 'Alī, but he, too, was no more successful. When he died, his nephew Ja'far b. 'Umar succeeded him. The latter applied himself energetically to suppressing the anarchy which was destroying the life of the country. Ash-Shihṛ fell to him, but he found it impossible to dislodge the Yāfi'īs from their other strongholds. His problems were complicated by the emergence at this time of a rival for the Kathīrī leadership, Ja'far b. 'Isā,⁵² who sought to base his power on the common people, both Yāfi'ī and Ḥaḍramī; but he used intimidation to achieve this, rather than trying to win their hearts. Alarmed by this behaviour, the Yāfi'īs allied themselves with their traditional enemy, the tribe of ash-Shanāfir, and their combined forces concentrated around Dhī-Aṣḥab. This probably took place in the year 1143. They, too, made demands for food and other supplies on the people. Although opposed to his rival, Ja'far b. 'Umar regarded this alliance as a threat to his own authority, as well, so with a force of nine hundred men he moved against the new enemy. A fierce battle took place at al-Ghaṭīl, in which Ja'far's army was wholly defeated, he himself closely escaping death. He fled to Shibām, but

51. Ibn Hāshim, Ta'rīkh, I, p. 105.

52. Ibid., pp. 105, 109, 110.

after spending one night he took refuge in al-
'Ajlāniyya.⁵³

The defeat of Ja'far b. 'Umar did nothing to restore peace and security to the region. In the same year as the battle of al-Ghaṭīl, a war broke out between the Yāfi'īs and Āl Ṭāhir b. Rājiḥ, beginning with a battle at Haynan, and the ensuing state of hostility caused much damage to this area of the Ḥaḍramawt.⁵⁴ Muḥsin b. 'Umar b. Badr al-Kathīrī mustered an army from the tribe of ash-Shanāfir in 1144, and with it he would from time to time attack Yāfi'ī strongholds, further adding to the disorder and increasing the fears of the people. In addition, he directed attacks against the Banū Tamīm of Dammūn (near Tarīm), burning, looting and driving off their animals, before returning to his base. In this operation, the Āl Zaydān are mentioned as the principal sufferers.

53. The sources are not agreed on the date of this battle. Ibn Ḥamīd, Ta'rīkh, p.247, drawing on the history of Aḥmad Bā-'Abbad, places it in 1141. The date is given as 1142 by Bā-Ḥannān, Jawāhir Ta'rīkh al-Aḥqāf, II, p. 212, who uses the Majmū'a of Sayyid Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ḥiyed, who also used Bā-'Abbād. The latter source is also presented as the authority for Ibn Ḥāshim, Ta'rīkh, who, however, gives the date 1143. Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī, Ḥaḍramawt wa 'Adan, 99 without mentioning his source, puts the event in the year 1145! The history of Bā-'Abbād ends in the year 1144; cf. al-Ḥamīd, Ta'rīkh Ḥaḍramawt, II, p. 301.

54. Jawāhir Ta'rīkh al-Aḥqāf, II, p. 218.

However, when Muḥsin later attempted another attack on Dammūn, his forces were ambushed by the Banū Tamīm and their Yāfi'ī allies and forced to flee. Pursued as far as Tāriba, the remnants of the army here dispersed. Undismayed, Muḥsin collected a new army from among ash-Shanāfir, and this time directed his assault against Sayūn, which he entered and devastated. The local Yāfi'īs were obliged to shut themselves in the as-Sa'āda palace for safety. Ash-Shanāfir was moved to spare certain of the Yāfi'īs out of old ties of friendship, and when finally the palace was taken none of those taking refuge there were harmed.⁵⁵

Ja'far b. 'Umar died at al-'Ajlāniyya (probably in 1145), and with his passing the first Kathīrī phase in Ḥaḍramī history comes to a close after four hundred years of power. Nothing further is known of Ja'far b. 'Isā, but the other Kathīrīs took refuge in as-Sahīl al-Qiblī and Ghunīma in the valley of Tāriba, and in the city of Bā-'Abd-Allāh, the hawṭa of the Āl al-'Aydārūs Sayyids. Here they withdrew from involvement in political affairs of the country.⁵⁶ The Yāfi'īs now divided the land among themselves: the Banū Nākhīb held al-Mukalla; La'būs held Tarīm and Ghayl Bā-Wazīr, Kalad held Raydat al-Ma'arra, az-Zabbī held Sayūn; and ar-Rabākī held Jifil.

55. Jawāhir Ta'rīkh al-Aḥqāf, II, p. 218, Ibn Hāshim, Ta'rīkh, I, p.106.

56. Ibn Hāshim, Ta'rīkh, I, p. 109.

The cities of Tarīs, Ḥawra and Shibām were in the control of al-Mawsita, Maryama in the hands of Āl al-Bakrī, and Lahrūm in those of ‘Abd-Allāh b. ‘Awad al-Qu‘aytī. Sadba was the domain of al-Jawharī, al-Hajrayn that of Āl Yazīd, and al-Quzih that of Āl al-Baṭātī. Each of these was a Yāfi‘ī city state, and only Ghayl b. Yumayn remained in the hands of a Ḥaḍramī tribe, ash-Shanāfir.⁵⁷

57. al-Bakrī, Ḥaḍramawt wa ‘Adan, p. 99.

APPENDIX I

The attempt of Sultān 'Abd-'Allāh b, 'Umar al-Kathīrī to renounce the rule of the Ḥaḍramawt to Sayyid al-Ḥusayn b. Abū Bakr of 'Īnāt.

In 1024 Sultān 'Abd-'Allāh b. 'Umar al-Kathīrī, after only three years of rule and for reasons which are still not known, decided to renounce the throne. Certainly it was a troubled realm which he had inherited from his father, with the constant rebelliousness among the tribes demanding an active and vigilant policy of repression. In particular, the tribe of al-Mahra, centred about the city of Sayhūt on the coast of the Arabian Sea, proved exceptionally intractable, as indeed they had been throughout the reigns of his father and grandfather. It is probable, too, that the activities of his brother Badr, who envied his position, may have influenced him in this decision. It was only the prudent intervention of the elders of the Kathīrī family that prevented civil war breaking out between them. cf. Sālim b. Ḥāmid, Ta'rīkh, p. 155; Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī, Ta'rīkh Ḥaḍramawt as-Siyāsī, I, p. 103.

The 11th century biographer, Muḥammad ash-Shillī, describes Sultān 'Abd-'Allāh in 'Iqd al-Jawāhir, f.118a, as having created political stability by the repressive control he exercised over the tribes. He proved in his private life to be an example of decorous behaviour and honesty to his people. It was, we are told, on the advice of a certain darvīsh (Jadibat Allāh) that he

renounced the throne and went to Mecca where he lived in ascetic retirement.

His immediate intention, however, was to appoint a successor to the throne, and with this purpose he went to 'Īnāt, the city of the famous Ḥaḍramī saint, Abū Bakr b. Sālīm who died in 992 where he offered the rule to the latter's son al-Ḥusayn. According to the eye-witness account of 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad Bā-Wazīr, 'Abd-Allāh went to extraordinary extremes to gain an audience with al-Ḥusayn, a man so holy that he would have nothing to do with the minions of secular power. He actually disguised himself as a darvīsh from Damascus; and when by this ruse he was accepted into al-Ḥusayn's presence, he offered the rule of the Ḥaḍramawt to the holy man. Al-Ḥusayn flatly refused to accept, either for himself or any of his family, but proposed, instead, that the throne be given to 'Abd-Allāh's brother, Badr who "was a man of honour and justice." To this 'Abd-Allāh agreed, but it seemed that it was only as his deputy that Badr was given the power, while he himself went on a protracted pilgrimage to Mecca. However, he did not wholly abandon his connection with the Ḥaḍramawt.

Muḥammad Ibn Hāshim, Ta'rīkh ad-Dawlat al-Kathīriyya, I, p. 69, basing his statement on an ambiguous passage in the Safīna of Bā-Wazīr, asserts that Badr became absolute Sultān at this time, and this error is repeated (probably from him) by Sa'īd Bā-Wazīr, Ṣafaḥāt min at-Ta'rīkh al-Ḥaḍramī, p. 106 and Muḥammad Bā-Ḥannān, Jawāhir Ta'rīkh

al-Aḥqāf, II, p. 155. However, Aḥmad ash-Sharafī, al-La'ālī', f.298b mentions that the Imām al-Mu'ayyad wrote in 1036 to Sulṭān 'Abd-Allāh and the 'Alawī Sayyids of the Ḥaḍramawt urging them to accept the Zaydī doctrine. (ash-Sharafī gives the name as 'Abd-Allāh b. Badr, but this is merely a copyist's error.) These letters were sent through al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Jawfī, a commander on the eastern frontiers in the Yaman, but what reply they received is not recorded.

APPENDIX II

The Exile of the Yamanī Jews to Mūza' in the Tihāma in
1088/1677.

The Yamanī Jews professed to be the descendents of the refugees from Palestine after the Destruction of the Temple—a not improbable claim when one considers the maritime activities of the Judean kings in the Red Sea. Their presence in the Yaman in pre-Islāmic times is attested in the literary sources and in local Ḥimyrite inscriptions; and these show that they scrupulously observed their Rabbinical faith and maintained certain links with their co-religionists in Palestine. The tolerance shown by the Zaydī Imāms allowed them the free exercise of their religion, and they were thus able to continue unchanged in the traditions they had brought with them.¹

However, troubles did arise between them and the political authorities, especially over the question of the Messiah, whom they expected to appear. From time to time impostors would appear claiming to be this Messiah, and it was on these occasions that they met with persecution. In 547/1152 their synagogue in Ṣa'da was burnt down by order of the Imām, but the reason for this is not known.²

1. Goitein, S.D., 'Jews of Yemen' in Religion in the Middle East, I, pp. 226-30.

2. Ghāyat al-Amānī, p. 308.

There seemed to be certain recommendations made by the Prophet that the Jews should be expelled from the Arabian Peninsula, and in the time of the Caliph 'Umar they were in fact driven from the Ḥijāz. In 945/1538, when Sharaf ad-Dīn was Imām, the question of expelling them from the Yaman was mooted. However, the consensus of opinion among the Zaydī and Shāfi'ī 'ulamā was that the ḥadīths containing these recommendations applied to the Ḥijāz only, and that therefore the Jews in the Yaman should be regarded as exempt. Therefore, the Imām and the qāḍī Muḥammad b. 'Abd-Allāh Dāwī issued a patent (marsūm) allowing the Jews the free exercise of their religion.³ However, in 1031/1621, the Turkish governor of Ṣan'ā, Aḥmad Faḍlī, prohibited them from selling wine; and he had a group of them caught drinking punished.⁴

The Jews clinched the hope that one day they would be able to return to Jerusalem and crown a king from among themselves; and for this reason they maintained links with Jewish communities in other countries. In 1077/1666, a Jewish merchant from Aleppo, passing himself off as a Turk, arrived in the Yaman with letters from the governor of Egypt to the Imām al-Mutawakkil. He arranged secret meetings with the Jews at which he encouraged them to revolt, and, so the chronicler tells

3. Ghāyat al-Amānī, p. 583.

4. Ibid., p. 815.

us, he also tried to bewitch the Imām and his advisers.⁵ News arrived from the Jewish communities in Egypt and Masqat announcing the imminent approach of the day when the new kingdom of Jerusalem would be founded.⁶

Misled by this news, a certain Jewish leader named an-Naqqāsh (or, al-Baqqāsh) wrote letters to the leaders of the Jewish communities in the neighbouring provinces, urging them to have their people sell all their property, and prepare to leave for Jerusalem where their hidden king was about to manifest himself. Acting on these instructions, the Jews sold up their belongings at very low prices.⁷

Although the Imām regarded this behaviour as a break of the contract (dhimma) on the part of the Jews, he did not order that they should be punished.⁸ In the absence of any specific order from the Imām, the people assumed that he would condone attacks made against the Jews and the looting of their property, and consequently in several cities persecutions of this kind took place. In Ṣan‘ā, however, the Jews were protected by the garrison. The Imām was angered by these unauthorized acts of robbery; he punished the ringleaders and managed to have some of the stolen property restored to its

5. an-Nūr al-Mushriq, III, f.58b.

6. ‘Abd-al-‘Āl, Nūr El-Hudā, Jews in Yemen in 17th-19th Century, p. 37.

7. an-Nūr al-Mushriq, III, f.60a.

8. ash-Shudhūr al-‘Asjadiyya, f.26a.

owners.⁹

However, the messianic fever had taken hold of the Jews. A certain notable from among them, Sulaymān al-Aqṭa', shut himself and his followers up in a synagogue in Ṣan'ā for four months, emerging at the end of Shawwāl 1077 to proclaim himself a prophet. He asserted in the presence of the governor of the city that the era of Islām was now ended, and that of the Jews was beginning. He was immediately thrown into prison, and later put to death by order of the Imām.¹⁰ His action, also, led the Jewish leaders in other cities to be imprisoned and to have their property confiscated; in Ṣan'ā seventy of them were publicly disgraced by being ordered to remove their turbans, and were forbidden even to wear this headgear again. Several of Sulaymān's followers, including two women, were sent to the Imām.¹¹

In Jam. I, 1078/1667, the Imām reduced the punishment which had been imposed on the Jewish community, on the condition that in the future they would refrain from such behaviour, and also that they would rebuild the walls of Ṣan'ā.¹² However, an atmosphere of distrust

9. an-Nūr al-Mushriq, III, f.62a; ash-Shudhūr al-'Asjadiyya, f.26a.

10. ash-Shudhūr al-'Asjadiyya, f.26b. an-Nūr al-Mushriq, III, f.62a. The name of this leader is given as Sulaymān al-Aqṭa' in an-Nūr al-Mushriq, but in ash-Shudhūr al-'Asjadiyya it is an-Nūsh.

11. an-Nūr al-Mushriq, III, f.68b.

12. Ibid., f.70a.

had been created which could not be entirely dispelled, and in 1086/1675, the Imām al-Mutawakkil issued an edict that one-tenth of the property of all Jews in the Yaman be confiscated to the Treasury.¹³ When he died in 1087, his will was found to contain instructions that all Jews be expelled from the Yaman and their synagogues destroyed.¹⁴

His successor, the Imām al-Mahdī, carried out this condition of his uncle's testament, in Sha'bān 1088/1677, and all the Jews of the Yaman were ordered to be sent to Mūza' in the Tihāma and their synagogues razed.¹⁵ The 'ulamā were not unanimous about the legality of this decree: those in favour argued that ḥadīths pertaining to the Hījāz also applied to the Yaman, and it was only the pressure of affairs that had prevented the Caliph 'Umar from expelling them from here also. Those opposed held that it was improper to deduce a general provision from a special ḥadīth, and when the Prophet issued statements pertaining to the Hījāz it was only there that they had validity. Moreover, he had accepted their presence in the Yaman sending Ma'āth to collect the jizya from them.¹⁶

13. ash-Shudhūr al-'Asjadiyya, f.39a.

14. Ibn Abū 'r-Rijāl, Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ, an-Nūṣūṣ az-Zāhira fī Ikhlā 'l-Yahūd al-Fājira, f.2a.

15. Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwā, f.116a; ash-Shudhūr al-'Asjadiyya, f.44b.

16. Ibn Abū 'r-Rijāl, Aḥmad, an-Nūṣūṣ az-Zāhira, ff.2a-6a; Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd-al-Qādir b. Aḥmad, at-Tanbīh 'Alā Ma Wajaba Min Ikhrāj al-Yahūd Min Jazīrat al-'Arab, f.7b.

The Imām carried out his intention: the Jews were sent to the Tihāma and their synagogues demolished. The oldest synagogue in Ṣan‘ā was spared until 1090/1679; but in that year it too was levelled and the al-Jalā mosque built on the site.¹⁷ The houses and shops had to be sold at very low prices.— It is said that in the journey to the Tihāma many died because of the severity of the weather. However, within a few years, they again returned to the Yaman, and founded a new quarter in the western section of Ṣan‘ā, removed from the places where the Muslims lived.¹⁸

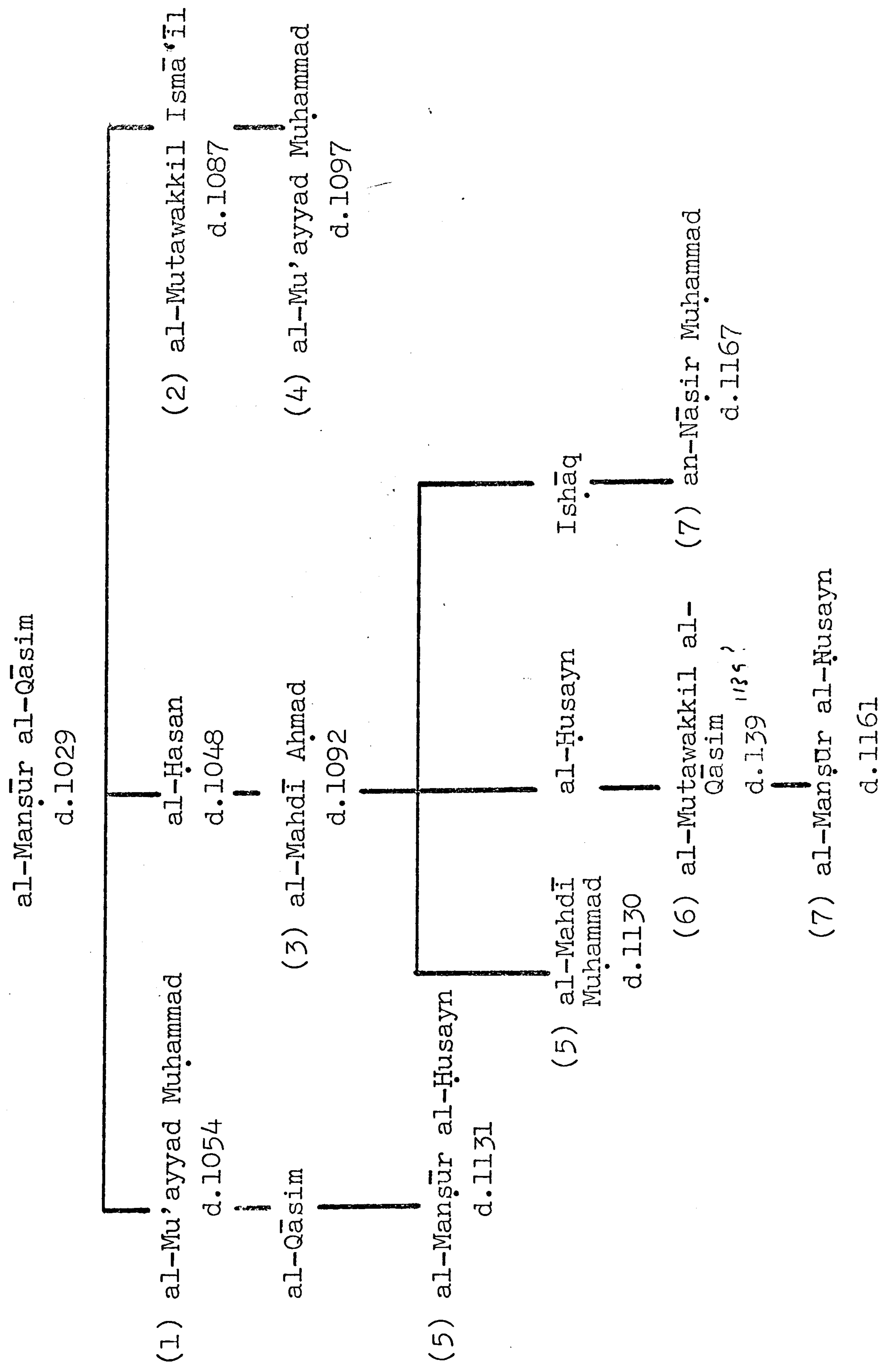
17. Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwā, f.119b.

18. ash-Shudhūr al-‘Asjadiyya, f.44b; Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwā, f.116a.

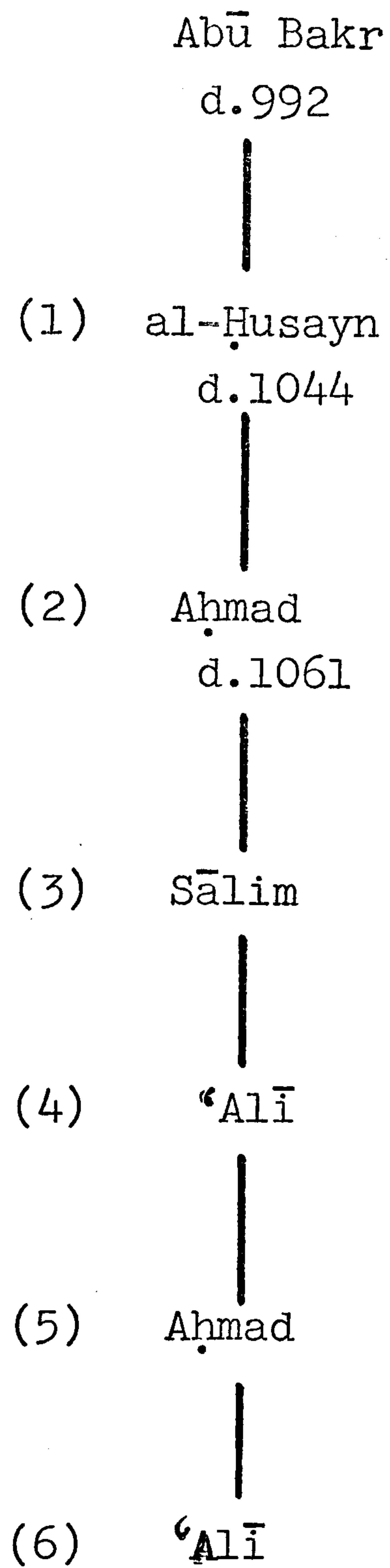
APPENDIX NO. III

Genealogical Tables of the Rulers of the Yaman
and South Arabia.

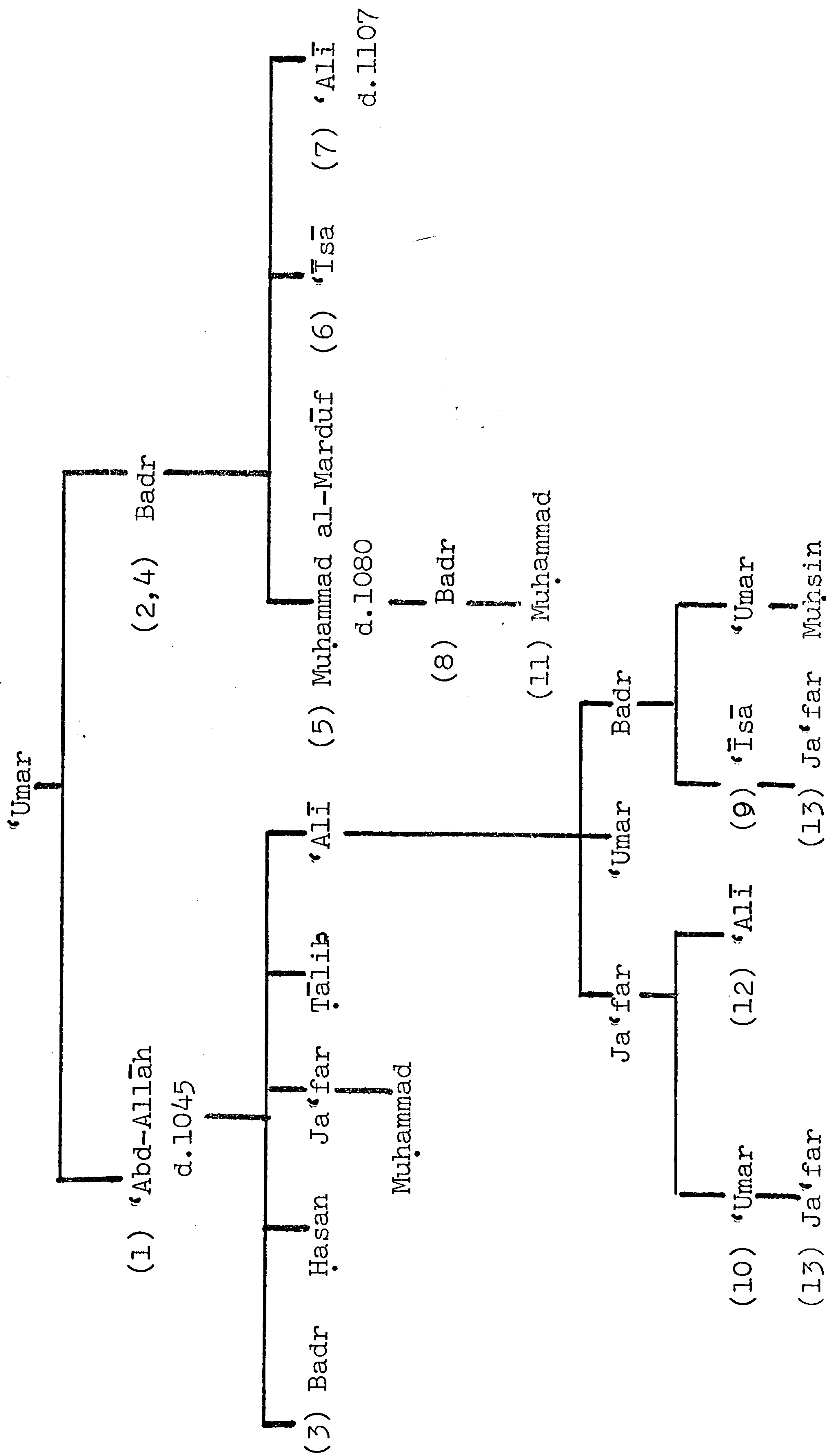
Genealogical Tables of Āl al-Qāsim Imāms of the Yaman.



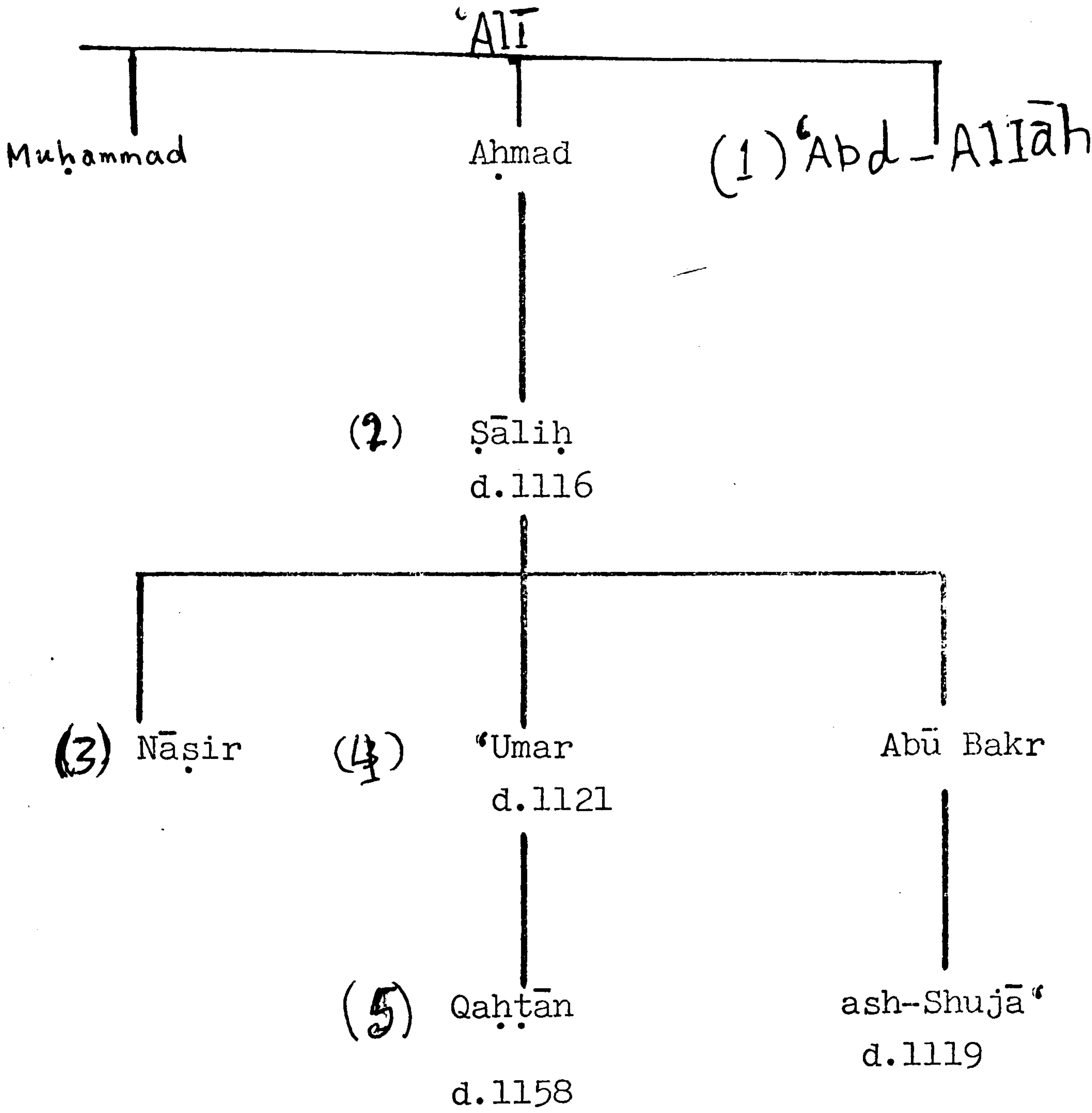
Genealogical Table of Āl Abū Bakr b. Sālīm
the Manāṣib of the city of ʿĪnāt in the Ḥaḍramawt



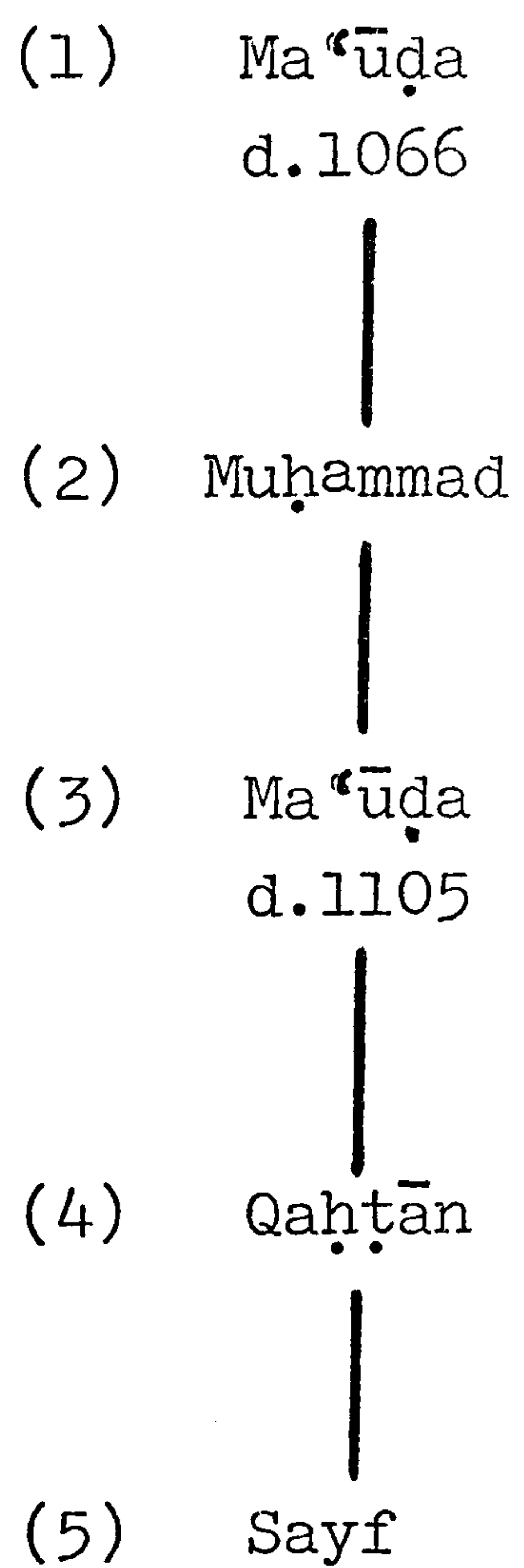
Genealogical Table of the Kathīrī Sultāns of the Ḥaḍramawt and Zafār



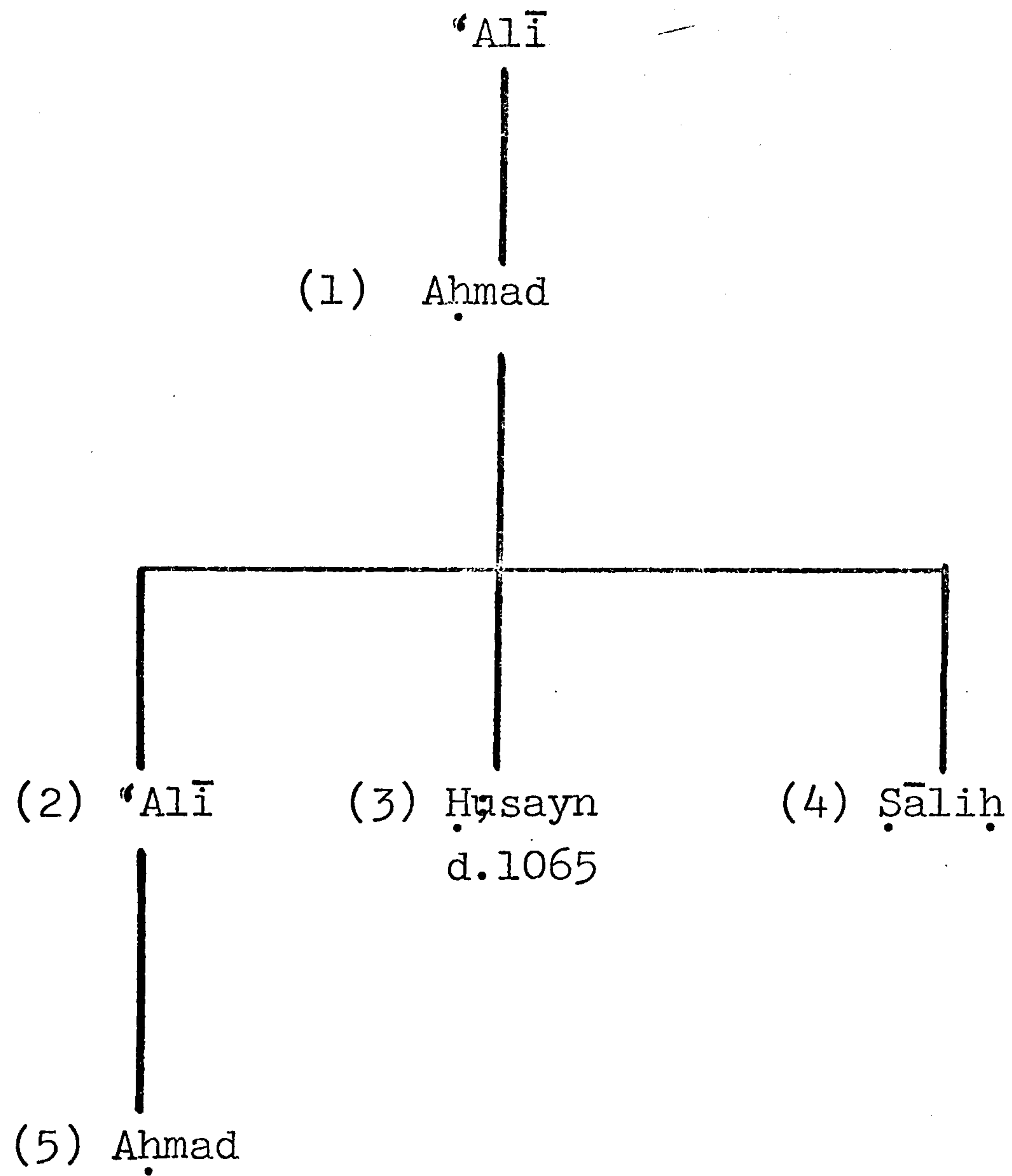
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Genealogical Table of the Ibn 'Afīf Rulers
of Yāfi'



Genealogical Table of Āl ar-Raṣṣās Rulers
of al-Bayḍā'



Genealogical Table of Ibn Sha'fal Rulers
of Khirfa

(1) Sha'fal



(2) Ahmad



(3) Qasim



(4) Ahmad



(5) Husayn

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